

# CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

## THE AFFAIRS OF ROME.

1849.

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*Presented to the House of Commons by Command of Her Majesty, in pursuance  
of their Address of the 14th of April, 1851.*

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"Copies or Extracts of any Correspondence between the British Government and any Embassies or Agents of the British Government Abroad, and between the British Government and any Foreign Governments, concerning the Affairs of Rome, during the year 1849."

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No. 1.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 12.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, January 8, 1849.*

IT is my duty to inform your Lordship that tranquillity continues, except on the confines of the Neapolitan territories, where troops have been sent.

His Holiness has been induced to issue an excommunication against all parties connected with the National Assembly; but this step has not disturbed public tranquillity.

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No. 2.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 12.)*

My Lord,

*Rome, February 2, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that on the 31st ultimo, by invitation of Monsignor \* \* \* through the channel of the Under Secretary of State, I waited on the former at the Quirinal, who requested me, in his own name and that of the other Ministers of the Provisional Government, to communicate to Her Majesty's Government the following:—

"That the Ministers had lost no occasion of assuring His Holiness that they were not only ready, but anxious to place into the hands of His Holiness all the power they held, provided His Holiness would return as a Constitutional Sovereign, and unaccompanied by the 'Camarilla' at Gaeta.

"That the present Government would make no opposition either to English or French intervention, but that no means would be left untried to repulse any other armed intervention.

"That they considered the conduct of the Neapolitan Government as highly reprehensible in giving countenance and assistance to the formation of an army in the Kingdom of Naples, with the avowed intention of invading the Roman States.

"That the present Government should consider any army, of whatever nation, marching into the Roman States from the Neapolitan territories, as a Neapolitan army; and that orders had been given to General Garibaldi to invade the Kingdom of Naples in the event of the Roman States being invaded.

"That the present Provisional Government considered the means now adopting at Gaeta in attempting to reinstate His Holiness through the means of reaction and civil war, to be acts of inhumanity, tending only to exasperate the people and alienate them from His Holiness, as well as to urge them on to the resolution of establishing a Republic in order not to submit to the government of the Sacred College and Jesuits.

"That the flight of His Holiness and persevering refusal to receive a deputation, the sole object of which was to produce a reconciliation between His Holiness and his subjects, had induced the people to unite

for the purpose of forming a new Government, and had compelled the Provisional Government to make great pecuniary sacrifices to prepare an army of defence against Austrian and Neapolitan intervention.

"That the reproach of the Roman States being governed by a faction was not founded on facts, which the number of votes (about one-sixth of the population) for the Costitnente Romana fully demonstrated."

The above, my Lord, to the best of my recollection, are the words of Monsignor . . .

I now beg leave to inform your Lordship that the Swiss auxiliary troops at Bologna, about 1500 men, had received orders from His Holiness at Gaeta, to join General Zucchi at Ponte Corvo, but in consequence of the remonstrances and menaces of the population at Bologna and in the Romagna, General Latour, their commanding officer, has consented to remain at Bologna, but he states that he will not permit his brigade to fight against troops under the Papal flag.

The Deputies of the Costitnente Romana will meet at the Capitol on the 5th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN FREEBORN.

### No. 3.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 18.)*

My Lord,

Rome, February 9, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that after a prolonged debate, and notwithstanding the opposition of about twenty of the most talented Deputies of the National Assembly, the temporal power of the Pope has been suppressed as per inclosed decree and translation, by a majority of 138 out of 143 members, and the "Repubblica Romana" declared by a majority of 120 members out of 143 present.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN FREEBORN.

### Inclosure 1 in No. 3.

*Decree Proclaiming the Roman Republic.*

Assemblea Costitnente Romana.

Decreto Fondamentale.

Art. 1. IL Papato è decaduto di fatto e di diritto dal governo temporale dello Stato Romano.

2. Il Pontefice Romano avrà tutte le guarentigie necessarie per la indipendenza nell' esercizio della sua potestà spirituale.

3. La forma del Governo della Stato Romano sarà la Democrazia pura, e prenderà il glorioso nome di Repubblica Romana.

4. La Repubblica Romana avrà col resto d'Italia le relazioni che esigge la nazionalità comune.

9 Febraio, 1849, 1 ora del mattino.

Il Presidente,

(Firmato) G. GALLETTI.

I Segretarj,

(Firmato)

GIOVANNI PENNACCHI.

ARIODANTE FABRETTI.

ANTONIO ZANBIANCHI.

QUIRICO FILOPANTI BARILLI.



(Translation.)

## Roman Constituent Assembly.

## Fundamental Decree.

Art. 1. THE temporal power of the Popedom is suppressed *de facto* and *de jure* in the Roman States.

2. The Roman Pontiff will have all the necessary guarantees in the independent exercise of the spiritual power.

3. The form of the Government in the Roman States will be a pure Democracy, and will take the glorious name of the "*Repubblica Romana*."

4. The Roman Republic will have with the rest of Italy such relations as the common nationality requires.

February 9, 1849, 1 o'clock A.M.

(Signed) The President,  
G. GALLETTI.

The Secretaries,  
(Signed) GIOVANNI PENNACCHI.  
ARIODANTE FABRETTI.  
ANTONIO ZAMBIANCHI.  
QUIRICO FILOPANTI BARILLI.

## No. 4.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 5.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, February 19, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith an extract and translation of a speech made by Signor Armellini, one of the members of the Executive Government, at the National Assembly, on the 13th instant.

I feel it my duty at once to state that the assertions of Signor Armellini are not founded on facts.

With the late Provisional Government my communications were limited to one or two representations on a commercial affair connected with the interest of a British subject at Civita Vecchia, and a misunderstanding between the officers of the "Bulldog" and the authorities at Civita Vecchia. It so happens that up to the present day I have had no occasion whatever to communicate with any Minister connected with the present Government, and I have refused to accept all personal invitations to attend to discussions, &c.

## Inclosure in No. 4.

*Extract of the Speech of Signor Armellini on the 13th February, 1849.*

ABBIAMO anche delle relazioni officiose, e più che tali riguardo alla Francia per mezzo della Ambasciata Francese che era accreditata in Roma. Hanno veduto i vostri stessi occhi dall'Accademia di Francia solennizzata, e festeggiata la proclamazione della nostra Repubblica con una solenne illuminazione della villa, loro residenza, fatto che parla molto della simpatia della Repubblica Francese sentita verso la Repubblica Romana sua sorella.

Le relazioni colla Gran Bretagna parimenti sono tali da soddisfarci.

Siamo in continui rapporti con quell'unico Rappresentante che è in Roma, cioè, il Console Freeborn. Torno a dire le partecipazioni che abbiamo da questo Agente Consolare in Roma relative al Ministero Britannico sono sempre soddisfacenti; e non troviamo che buono l'aspetto in cui è preso il nostro Governo, e in cui sono presi tutti i movimenti degli Stati Romani, dall'Inghilterra per ciò che precedè e preparò la proclamazione della Repubblica.

(Translation.)

WE have also officious relations, and more than officious relations with France, through the medium of the French Embassy which was accredited in Rome. You have seen with your own eyes that the French Academy celebrated the proclamation of our Republic with a solemn illumination at the villa of their residence; a fact which speaks much for the sympathy which the French Republic feels towards the Roman sister Republic.

The relations with Great Britain are also satisfactory.

We are in continual communication with the only Representative in Rome, *i.e.*, Consul Freeborn. I repeat that the communications (*partecipazioni*) which we have from the said Consular Agent in Rome relating to the English Ministry are always satisfactory; and we cannot but be gratified with the light in which England regards our Government and the movements of the Roman States which preceded and prepared the proclamation of the Republic.

No. 5.

*Mr. Addington to Mr. Freeborn.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, March 12, 1849.*

I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 19th ultimo, stating the course which you have felt it to be your duty to pursue under the circumstances therein mentioned; and I am to state to you that that course is quite right.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) H. U. ADDINGTON.

No. 6.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 15.)*

My Lord,

*Rome, March 1, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit you herewith copy and translation of a letter addressed to me by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the present Roman Government, accompanied by a letter addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the King of Naples.

Your Lordship will be pleased to observe that it is a protest from the Roman Government to the Neapolitan Government, in consequence of the menacing attitude of the Neapolitan troops on the frontier, and suggesting at the same time the propriety of giving explanation, and granting satisfaction for the entrance of the small body of Neapolitan troops in the Roman States.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) JOHN FREEBORN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 6.

*The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Roman Republic to Mr. Freeborn.\**

(Translation.)

Sir,

*Rome, February 27, 1849.*

THE Undersigned, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Roman Republic, considers it as a duty to inclose herewith a copy of a note addressed to the Neapolitan Government, requesting your attention to the same, and calling also the attention of your Government.

The Undersigned, &amp;c.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 6.

*The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Roman Republic to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Naples.*

Eccellenza,

*Roma, li 26 febbrajo, 1849.*

MI è d'uopo l'avvertirla, che l'ingrossamento delle reali truppe Napoletane sui nostri confini eccita la giusta diffidenza del Governo della Repubblica, i cui atti non han potuto in nessuna guisa autorizzare quell'accumulamento di forze. La presenza del General Zucehi, palesamente ostile alla Repubblica, e gli uomini che nelle frontiere stesse ei va raggranellando coll'intento palese di spingerli contro di noi, accrescono i dubbj di questo Governo sulle intenzioni, che può nudrire a suo riguardo quello di Napoli. Nel giorno 20 del corrente poi è accaduto un fatto che avrebbe potuto dar luogo a terribili conseguenze, se all'amore di libertà, che anima i popoli della Repubblica, non fosse indissolubilmente congiunto l'amore d'Italia. Nel giorno di cui le accenno, un corpo di cento soldati Napoletani entrava nel nostro suolo, volgeva sospette interrogazioni a quanti incontrava sullo stato delle nostre truppe; quindi si ritraeva al di là di quei limiti, che non avrebbe mai dovuto varcare. Quel fatto poteva eccitare fiere rappresaglie, se, come toccai, l'amore d'Italia non ardesse nel cuore di quanti vivono sul nostro suolo, e se il pensiero che Italiani erano gli entrati, temprato non avesse i subiti sdegni, che quella violazione del territorio nostro avea suscitati.

A prevenire i futuri conflitti però, che potrebbero seguire, ad allontanare i pericoli di una guerra che farsi non deve che col nemico d'Italia, il Governo della Repubblica le volge queste rimostranze, e attende col mezzo suo uno schiarimento per quanto è occorso, e quella giusta soddisfazione, che il suo Governo di Europa sa negare omai più a un popolo oltraggiato.

Voglia ella interporre presso il suo Governo, onde corroborare l'efficacia di queste rimostranze, e si degni di credermi come colla più alta stima mi rassegno,

Il Ministro degli Affari Esteri.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

*Rome, February 26, 1849.*

IT becomes necessary for me to inform you that the increase of Neapolitan troops upon our frontiers excites the just distrust of the Republican Government, whose conduct has not been such as to authorize in any way a similar accumulation of forces. The presence of General Zucehi, openly hostile to the Republic, and of the men that he collects on the frontiers with the evident object of directing them against us, increases the doubts entertained by the Government of this country with respect to the intentions of that of Naples. On the 20th instant an event took place which might have brought about terrible consequences, if the love of liberty which animates the people of the Republic were not indissolubly united with the love of Italy. On the day which I have mentioned, a body of one hundred Neapolitan soldiers entered our territory and made suspicious inquiries of every one they met as to the state of our troops, retiring subsequently beyond those limits which they ought never to have passed. This deed might have excited fierce reprisals, if, as I have observed, the love of Italy did not animate the hearts of the inhabitants of our soil, tempering the quick indignation occasioned by the violation of territory, with the reflection that the aggressors were Italians.

To prevent all future conflict, and to avoid the dangers of a war which ought to be waged only against the enemy of Italy, the Government of the Republic addresses these remonstrances to you, and expects

through you an explanation of what has happened, and that just satisfaction which no European Government can deny to an outraged people.

Have the goodness to use your influence with your Government in order to strengthen the efficacy of these remonstrances, and believe me, &c.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs.

No. 7.

*Mr. Freeborn to Mr. Bidwell.—(Received April 2.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, March 23, 1849.*

ROME is perfectly tranquil and nothing is now attended to but arms, money, and men.

If no intervention takes place from Naples, the peace of Rome will not be disturbed; if it does, the consequences will be serious, as reaction, civil war and all its horrors, must be the result. Although a Republic is an unfortunate form of Government, I must say in justice to the present Ministers, that their conduct is exemplary; that of the people more so; order and obedience to the laws is the order of the day, and the people have not lost their attachment to His Holiness.

No. 8.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 2.)*

(Extract.)

*Paris, April 1, 1849.*

I HAVE this day communicated to the Nuncio your Lordship's despatch of March 27.\*

No. 9.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 17.)*

(Extract.)

*Florence, April 6, 1849.*

I HAVE received a letter from Her Majesty's Consul at Ancona, giving a dreadful account of the state of that town. I have the honour to inclose it for your Lordship's information.

Inclosure in No. 9.

*Consul Moore to Sir George Hamilton.*

(Extract.)

*Ancona, April 3, 1849.*

ON the 30th ultimo we received the news of the defeat of the Sardinian army by the "Bologna Gazette." The town was thrown into great excitement, and an infuriated mob rushed into all the coffee-houses and public places and tore up the newspapers, and assaulted, stabbed, and murdered people, right and left, who happened to be reading the news. Five were killed: amongst them the Marquis Nembrini, in the reading-room of the Casino. Since then murders have continued at an average of three per day. In the list of superior persons stabbed stands the

\* See Papers respecting the Affairs of Italy, 1849. Part IV, No. 243.

Secretary-General of the Government (Valorani). On the 1st instant, at 3 P.M., he was fired at and missed, but a stiletto took effect in the abdomen. This occurred in a public part close to the town gates. A great many of the murderers are well known, but no one dares to arrest them. Neither the police nor civic guard will act. The Sardinians will have nothing to do with it, and this is the only force we could look to for protection.

The reply to all applications is, who will be the first to venture?

The Governor of the town is gone to Rome.

The Belgian Consul quitted the town yesterday morning, and left his Consulate under my charge.

The Sardinian squadron must I presume leave us in a few days, which will not mend our position.

The troops and volunteers sent to the Romagna against the Austrians returned yesterday, and I fear they will prove another element of discord for the town.

A small French brig-of-war has just entered our harbor from Toulon for Trieste. She has saluted our Roman Republican flag, to the great satisfaction of the population.

#### No. 10.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 17.)*

My Lord,

Rome, April 6, 1849.

YOUR Lordship will have learned by my despatches preceding this which I have had the honour to address to you, that the tranquillity of this city had not been materially disturbed, and that the laws had been carried out with moderation on the part of the Government and obedience on the part of the people.

With regret I have now to report to your Lordship that since the intelligence has been received of the defeat of the Piedmontese army, a spirit of reaction, and to a considerable extent, has shown itself, but which the Government has hitherto succeeded in keeping down. I fear, however, that civil war is rapidly approaching, and which may be productive of serious and sanguinary conflicts.

I have not failed to give my best advice at this critical time to most of the English families residing here for their amusement; consequently if any untoward occurrence should happen, and thereby their lives and property placed in jeopardy, they have only to blame themselves for remaining here.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN FREEBORN.

#### No. 11.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 17.)*

My Lord,

Paris, April 16, 1849.

M. ODILON-BARROT has this day demanded from the Assembly a credit of 1,200,000 francs, to enable the Government to give effect to the intimation of the Assembly, that in case circumstances should seem to require it, they should occupy some portion of the Italian territory. No details were given in the report; but it is understood that Civita Vecchia is the destination of the expedition.

The Minister asked that the urgency of the proposition should be voted, and that it should be immediately referred to a Commission. Both these propositions were adopted, and the members adjourned to the Bureaux to name the Commission, who it is expected will make its report this

afternoon; but as there will not probably be time to send anything further by the mail train, I close this despatch and send it by common post.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) NORMANBY.

# No. 12.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 20.)*

(Extract.)

Paris, April 19, 1849.

IT appears that the conferences at Gaeta led to a determination on the part of the other Catholic Powers to proceed at once to restore the Pope by foreign intervention; the part proposed for France, in conjunction with the others, was that which she has now assumed, independent of any engagements, namely, to send an expeditionary force to Civita Vecchia.

Some weeks since it appears that Austria had conveyed an intimation to France, that if this Government chose to go alone to Civita Vecchia, she would not object to it, reserving of course the same freedom of action for herself upon other points. The different plans proposed at Gaeta appeared to the French Government objectionable or impracticable; they were likewise informed that the Austrians were upon the point of entering Tuscany, and had declared that the military road there being through Bologna, they should re-establish in that city the authority of the Pope.

The question which had been under discussion between the Representatives of the two Governments at Gaeta thus assumed a practical shape. The Austrians professed to restore the Pope without any conditions, whilst France did not pretend to dictate conditions to His Holiness, but to make the offer of her assistance dependent upon his being ready to carry out those administrative reforms which had been proposed eighteen years since, and also to confirm those Constitutional institutions which the present Pope had previously granted of his own free will; and it was thus to secure to the Romans that improved Government which it was thought would be much endangered, should the Pope be left by Austria to the one-sided counsels of the violent reactionary party, that this expedition had been hurried forward, in order that this French force should arrive at Civita Vecchia before the Austrians could march upon Rome.

I told M. Drouyn de Lhuys that the object which the French Government professed to have in view,—the restoration of the Pope under an improved form of Government, was precisely that which I had always been instructed to state was also that of Her Majesty's Government, though, for reasons which I had then explained to him, we had not wished to take any active part in the negotiations. I had also expressed our desire that France, sharing our feelings on the subject, should not decline to participate in the negotiations. It certainly had been to the influence of diplomatic concert, and not to active intervention, that we had looked, our great desire being that the Pope should be restored by the spontaneous action of his subjects.

# No. 13.

*M. Drouyn de Lhuys to Admiral Cécille.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Admiral Cécille, April 21.)*

M. l'Amiral,

Paris, le 19 Avril, 1849.

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer ci-joint copie de deux dépêches que je viens d'écrire, l'une au Chargé d'Affaires de France à Vienne, l'autre à notre Ambassadeur auprès du St. Père et à notre Envoyé auprès de la Cour de Naples, pour leur faire connaître les motifs et le but de l'expédition qui va partir pour Civita Vecchia sous le commandement de M. le Général Oudinot. Je vous prie de

vouloir bien en donner lecture à Lord Palmerston. Nous ne doutons pas que le Gouvernement Britannique n'apprécie comme il convient une détermination dont l'objet est tout à la fois de maintenir, autant qu'il dépendra de nous, l'équilibre politique, de garantir l'indépendance des Etats Italiens ; d'assurer aux populations Romaines un régime libéral et régulier ; et de les préserver des dangers d'une réaction aveugle, aussi bien que des fureurs de l'anarchie.

Agréé, &c.

(Signé) E. DROUYN DE LHUYS.

(Translation.)

M. l'Amiral,

Paris, April 19, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to send you herewith copies of two despatches which I have just written, one to the Chargé d'Affaires of France at Vienna, the other to our Ambassador to the Pope and to our Envoy at the Court of Naples, to communicate to them the reasons and the object of the expedition which is about to depart for Civita Vecchia under the command of General Oudinot. I request you to have the goodness to read them to Lord Palmerston. We doubt not that the British Government will duly appreciate a determination, the object of which is at once to maintain, as far as shall depend on us, the balance of power, to guarantee the independence of the Italian States ; to secure to the Roman people a liberal and regular system of administration ; and to preserve them from the dangers of a blind reaction, as well as from the frenzy of anarchy.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) E. DROUYN DE LHUYS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

*M. Drouyn de Lhuys to M. de la Cour.*

Monsieur,

Paris, 17 Avril, 1849.

LES événemens accomplis avec tant de rapidité depuis quelques semaines dans le Nord de l'Italie ; les mouvemens opérés par l'armée Autrichienne à la suite de la lutte si courte contre l'armée Piémontaise ; l'intention hautement annoncée par M. le Prince de Schwarzenberg, d'intervenir dans toutes les contrées de la Péninsule voisines de la Lombardie ; enfin la délibération même de la Conférence de Gaëte, qui n'a eu pouvoir se rallier à aucune des idées suggérées par nos Plénipotentiaires : toutes ces circonstances nous ont fait penser que la France, pour conserver dans le règlement des affaires de l'Italie Centrale, la part d'influence qui lui appartient légitimement et dont la conservation est essentielle au maintien de l'équilibre politique, devait prendre une attitude plus prononcée. Le Gouvernement de la République s'est résolu à envoyer à Civita Vecchia un corps de troupes commandé par M. le Général Oudinot ; notre pensée en nous décidant à cette mesure n'a été ni d'imposer aux populations Romaines un régime que leur volonté libre aurait repoussé, ni de contraindre le Pape à adopter, lorsqu'il sera rappelé à l'exercice de sa puissance, tel ou tel système de Gouvernement. Nous avons cru, nous croyons plus que jamais, que par la force des choses, par l'effet de la disposition naturelle des esprits, le régime qu'a fondé à Rome la Révolution de Novembre dernier est destinée à succomber bientôt, et que le peuple Romain se replacera sous l'autorité du Souverain Pontife, pourvu qu'on le rassure contre les dangers d'une réaction ; mais nous croyons également, et à cet égard surtout, vous le savez, notre langage n'a jamais varié, nous croyons que cette autorité ne jettera de fortes racines, ne s'affermira contre de nouveaux orages, qu'à l'aide d'institutions qui préviennent le retour des anciens abus dont Pie IX avait avec un si généreux empressement commencé la réforme.

Faciliter un rapprochement qui s'opérerait sur de telles bases, donner au Saint Père et à tous ceux qui, soit à Rome, soit à Gaëte, sont disposés à y coopérer, l'appui dont ils peuvent avoir besoin pour surmonter les obstacles suscités par des prétentions exagérées ou par de mauvaises passions, tel est le but que nous avons assigné à notre expédition.

M. le Prince de Schwarzenberg comprendra, j'en ai la conviction, qu'après avoir pris l'importante détermination que j'ai l'honneur de vous annoncer, nous

n'ayons pas voulu en compromettre les chances de succès par les retards qu'aurait entraînés une communication préalable faite à la Conférence de Gaëta. La marche rapide des événemens nous interdisait toute temporisation. Au surplus, nos intentions ne sont pas équivoques, et ne peuvent être suspectées. Ce que nous voulons c'est que le Saint Père en rentrant à Rome, s'y trouve placé dans une situation qui, tout à la fois satisfaisante pour lui et pour son peuple, garantisse l'Italie et l'Europe contre de nouvelles perturbations, et ne porte atteinte ni à l'équilibre politique ni à l'indépendance des Etats Italiens. Les moyens auxquels nous avons recours sont, si je ne me trompe, les plus propres à atteindre ce but. Ils doivent donc obtenir l'approbation de tous les amis de l'ordre et de la paix.

Nous ne verrons pas sans regret que l'Autriche, à qui l'occupation d'une partie considérable de la Haute Italie, et la victoire récemment remportée sur les Piémontais, assurent déjà une si grande part d'influence dans la Péninsule, eût devoir, comme elle l'a plus d'une fois indiqué, se procurer par l'occupation de Bologne, un gage nouveau qui, bien inutile pour elle au point de vue des intérêts sérieux, ne servirait qu'à inquiéter et à exciter les esprits.

Agrérez, &c.

(Signé) E. DROUYN DE L'HUYS.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Paris, April 17, 1849.

THE events which have occurred so rapidly within some weeks in the North of Italy; the movements which have been effected by the Austrian army after its very short contest with the Piedmontese army; the intention distinctly announced by Prince Schwarzenberg of interfering in all the countries of the Peninsula adjoining Lombardy; and lastly, the decision even of the members of the Conference of Gaëta, who did not think that they could agree to any of the plans suggested by our Plenipotentiaries: all these circumstances have led us to think that, in order to retain in the regulation of the affairs of Central Italy the share of influence which legitimately belongs to France, and the preservation of which is essential to the maintenance of the balance of power, France ought to assume a more decided attitude. The Government of the Republic has resolved to send to Civita Vecchia a body of troops commanded by General Oudinot. Our intention in deciding on this measure has been neither to impose on the Roman people a system of administration which their free will would have rejected, nor to constrain the Pope to adopt, when he shall be recalled to the exercise of his power, this or that system of Government. We thought, we more than ever think, that by the force of events, by the effect of the natural disposition of men's minds, the system of administration which the Revolution of last November has established at Rome is destined soon to fall, and that the Roman people will place themselves again under the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, provided they are secured against the dangers of a reaction. But we nevertheless think, and in this respect especially you know our language has never varied, that that authority will not take strong root, and can only strengthen itself against fresh storms, by the help of institutions which may prevent the return of the old abuses, the reform of which Pius IX had with such generous zeal begun.

To facilitate a reconciliation which would be effected on such grounds, to give to the Holy Father and to all those who, whether at Rome or at Gaëta, are disposed to co-operate therein, the assistance which they may require to surmount the obstacles raised by exaggerated pretensions or by evil passions, such is the object which we have assigned to our expedition.

Prince Schwarzenberg will understand, I am convinced, that after having taken the important decision which I have the honour to announce to you, we have not wished to risk the chances of its success by the delay which a preliminary communication made to the Conference of Gaëta would have caused. The rapid progress of events made it impossible for us to temporize. Moreover, our intentions are unequivocal and cannot be suspected. What we wish is, that the Holy Father on re-entering Rome may find himself placed in a situation which, while it is satisfactory to him and to his people, may at the same time preserve Italy and Europe from fresh disturbances, and may not



interfere either with the balance of power or the independence of the Italian States. The means to which we have recourse are, if I am not mistaken, the fittest to attain that end. They ought then to meet with the approbation of all friends of order and of peace.

We should not without regret see that Austria, to whom the occupation of a considerable part of Upper Italy and the victory recently obtained over the Piedmontese secure already so large a share of influence in the Peninsula, should think proper, as she has more than once intimated, to procure for herself, by the occupation of Bologna, a fresh security which, however useless to her with regard to serious interests, would serve but to disquiet and to excite men's minds.

Receive, &c.  
(Signed) E. DROUYN DE LHUYS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 13.

*M. Drouyn de Lhuys to M. d'Harcourt and M. de Rayneval.*

Monsieur,

*Paris, 18 Avril, 1849.*

LA détermination que vous annonçait une dépêche du 15 de ce mois est enfin arrêtée, et va recevoir son exécution. Un vote de l'Assemblée Nationale, rendu à la suite d'une discussion solennelle, ayant ouvert au Gouvernement de la République les crédits dont il avait besoin à cet effet, un corps de troupes commandé par le Général Oudinot sera dirigé sans retard sur Civita Vecchia. La pensée du Gouvernement de la République, en se décidant à cette mesure, n'a été ni d'imposer aux populations Romaines un régime que leur volonté libre aurait repoussé, ni de contraindre le Pape à adopter, lorsqu'il sera rappelé à l'exercice de sa puissance temporelle, tel ou tel système de Gouvernement. Nous avons cru, nous croyons plus que jamais, que par la force des choses, par suite de la disposition naturelle des esprits, le régime qu'a fondé à Rome la Révolution du mois de Novembre est destiné à succomber bientôt; que le peuple Romain, pourvu qu'on le rassure contre les dangers d'une réaction, se remplacera avec empressement sous l'autorité du Souverain Pontife; et que Pie IX, rentrant dans ses Etats, y rapportera la politique généreuse, éclairée, libérale, dont il s'est naguères montré animé. Faciliter un rapprochement qui s'opérerait dans un pareil esprit, donner au St. Père et à tous ceux qui, à Gaëte comme à Rome, sont disposés à coopérer, l'appui dont ils peuvent avoir besoin pour surmonter les obstacles suscités dans l'un ou l'autre sens par des influences exagérées ou de mauvaises passions, tel est le but que nous avons assigné à notre expédition. Veuillez, en annonçant, de concert avec M. de Rayneval, à M. le Cardinal Antonelli, le départ de la division commandée par M. le Général Oudinot, lui bien expliquer l'objet et la portée de la résolution que nous venons de prendre. Il comprendra que, pour se mettre en état d'en profiter, le Saint Père doit se hâter de publier un manifeste, qui, en garantissant aux populations des institutions libérales et conformes à leur vœu comme aux nécessités des temps, fasse tomber toutes les résistances. Ce manifeste, paraissant au moment même où nos forces se montrent sur les côtes des Etats de l'Eglise, serait le signal d'une conciliation qui ne laisserait en dehors qu'un bien petit nombre de mécontents. Vous ne sauriez trop insister sur l'utilité, sur la nécessité même, d'un pareil acte.

Il vous sera facile de faire comprendre aux membres de la Conférence de Gaëte que, si nous n'avons pas cru devoir attendre pour agir, le résultat des délibérations de cette Conférence, c'est parce que la marche rapide des événements ne nous le permettait pas. Ce que nous désirons c'est que le St. Père, en rentrant à Rome, se trouve placé dans une situation, qui, tout à la fois satisfaisante pour lui et pour son peuple, garantisse l'Italie et l'Europe contre de nouvelles perturbations, et ne porte atteinte ni à l'équilibre politique ni à l'indépendance des Etats Italiens. Les moyens auxquels nous avons recours sont, si je ne me trompe, les plus propres à atteindre ce but. Ils doivent donc obtenir l'approbation de tous les amis de l'ordre et de la paix.

Agrérez, &c.  
(Signé) E. DROUYN DE LHUYS.

(Translation.)

Sir,

*Paris, April 18, 1849.*

THE determination announced to you in a despatch of the 15th instant is at length taken and is about to be carried into execution. A vote of the National Assembly, passed at the close of a solemn discussion, having provided the Government of the Republic with the funds which it required for that purpose, a body of troops commanded by General Oudinot will be dispatched without delay to Civita Vecchia. The idea of the Government of the Republic, in deciding upon this measure, has not been either to impose upon the Roman people a system of administration which their free will would have rejected, or to compel the Pope, when he shall be recalled to the exercise of his temporal power, to adopt such or such system of Government. We have thought, we think more than ever, that by the force of circumstances, and in consequence of the natural disposition of men's minds, the system of administration which was founded at Rome by the Revolution of November is destined shortly to fall; that the Roman people, provided it is reassured against the dangers of a reaction, will readily replace itself under the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff; and that Pius IX, on returning to his dominions, will carry back thither the generous, enlightened, and liberal policy with which he has lately shown himself to be animated. To facilitate a reconciliation which should be carried out in such a spirit, to furnish the Pope and all those who, at Gacta as well as at Rome, are disposed to contribute thereto, with the support which they may require in order to surmount the obstacles raised in one sense or the other by exaggerated influences or by evil passions, such is the object which we have assigned to our expedition. Have the goodness, when announcing, in concert with M. de Rayneval, to Cardinal Antonelli, the departure of the division commanded by General Oudinot, clearly to explain to him the object and the bearing of the resolution which we have now adopted. He will understand that in order to place himself in a position to profit by it, the Pope must hasten to publish a manifesto, which, by guaranteeing to the people liberal institutions in conformity with their wishes as well as with the necessities of the times, shall cause the overthrow of all resistance. This manifesto, appearing at the very moment when our troops would show themselves on the coasts of the States of the Church, would be the signal for a reconciliation from which only a very small number of malcontents would be excluded. You cannot insist too strongly upon the utility of, or the necessity even which exists for, such a document.

It will be easy for you to make the members of the Conference of Gacta understand that if we have not thought fit to wait for the result of the deliberations of that Conference before resorting to action, it is because the rapid progress of events did not allow us to do so. What we desire is, that the Pope, on returning to Rome, shall find himself in a position which, at once satisfactory for himself and for his people, shall secure Italy and Europe from new commotions, and shall not prejudice either the balance of power or the independence of the Italian States. The means to which we have recourse are, if I do not deceive myself, the best calculated for the attainment of this object. They must consequently meet with the approbation of all the friends of order and of peace.

Receive, &amp;c.

(Signed) E. DROUYN DE LHUYS.

No. 14.

*Mr. Buchanan to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 23.)*

(Extract.)

*St. Petersburg, April 11, 1849.*

I HAVE made Count Nesselrode acquainted with the concluding paragraphs of your Lordship's despatch to Lord Normanby\*, dated the 27th ultimo, on the subject of the negotiations which are about to be entered into with a view to re-establishing the authority of the Pope at Rome.

\* See Papers respecting the Affairs of Italy, 1849. Part IV, No. 243.

## No. 15.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 30.)*

My Lord,

*Florence, April 22, 1849.*

THE details I daily receive from Ancona of the atrocities committed are hardly credible, and such as appear to stain no other European city. The Roman Government seem to have abandoned all intention of interfering to crush the robbers and assassins by arrest and punishment, and the life of Her Majesty's Consul is menaced and seems really in danger.

The average number of daily murders is six or eight; last Sunday there were ten victims, of whom one gentleman was murdered on the French Consul's staircase, another on the flat above him, and a third close to the Consul's house. The rage of the assassins appears chiefly directed against persons of respectability supposed to entertain principles opposed to the Revolutionary Government.

I have been requested by some of the English inhabitants to apply for a ship of war to protect them, but I fear that Sir William Parker would not be enabled to comply with their wishes.

I think it my duty to make your Lordship acquainted with this sad state of affairs at Ancona, in case Her Majesty's Government should think fit to order a man-of-war to proceed there to protect English interests.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

## No. 16.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 4.)*

(Extract.)

*Florence, April 25, 1849.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 22nd instant, I have the honour to inclose herewith a letter which I have received from Her Majesty's Consul at Ancona, which informs me that an Irish friar, named O'Kelleher, greatly respected by all the English residents at Ancona, had been shot under the windows of the Russian Consul, and that the life of an Englishman had been threatened for calling the guard to the aid of the dying friar.

Under these circumstances I have thought it my duty to instruct Mr. Petre to bring these lamentable circumstances under the notice of the Roman Government, more particularly as the most culpable apathy seems to prevail on their part in attempting to repress the assassinations which hourly occur.

## Inclosure in No. 16.

*Consul Moore to Sir George Hamilton.*

(Extract.)

*Ancona, April 21, 1849.*

YESTERDAY morning we were again horrified by another list of murders during the evening of the 19th, and amongst them Father O'Kelleher, an Irish friar. He was shot dead under the Russian Consul's windows, who saw him expire and heard his last groan without the power of rendering him any aid, though the dying man looked imploringly up at the windows of this house where the ladies of the family were also assembled, and to whom he was father confessor. His body was removed in a wheelbarrow.

This event has cast great gloom over all the English, as the poor murdered man was intimate with us all, and as for my house he had the full run of it all times.

An Englishman for calling the guard to the aid of the dying friar is now threatened. It appears when a victim is doomed, his executioner (one

or more) is at the same time named. As yet the Governor has done nothing to stay this torrent of human blood. He wrote to me yesterday to say he was still exerting himself to combine a general plan "per estirpare questa piaga sì dolorosa che tanto disonora la città di Ancona ed i santi principi della libertà," but if he were unsuccessful he should give in his resignation.

It is said two commissaries arrived yesterday from Rome, and that they addressed the Cireoli on the present terrific state of things. I believe no murders took place last night. Very few persons are to be seen out of doors at any hour. It is even dangerous to look out of a window. Several have been shot at when doing so, but none wounded, though one received a bullet through his cap.

## No. 17.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 6.)*

(Extract.)

*Florence, April 28, 1849.*

I AM sorry to inform your Lordship that the reign of terror continues at Ancona. The lives of the captains of two English merchant-vessels are threatened—they dare not leave their ships.

## No. 18.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 6.)*

(Extract.)

*Florence, April 28, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that intelligence has reached Florence of the disembarkation of 8000 or 9000 French troops, under the command of General Oudinot, at Civita Vecchia. No opposition was offered to the landing of the troops, who were well received.

## No. 19.

*The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 7.)*

(Extract.)

*Naples, April 27, 1849.*

THE French force, which has been ordered to embark at Toulon and Marseilles, amounting, it is said, to 5000 or 6000 men, are I am told expected to arrive shortly at Fiumicino, at the mouth of the Tiber, from which it would appear that they are intended to march upon Rome.

Admiral Baudin has received orders to remain in this neighbourhood for the present with his squadron, which consists of five sail of the line, four of which are in the Bay of Naples and one at Gaeta, and five steamers.

Admiral Sir William Parker left Naples on the 8th instant for Malta, leaving the "Howe" and the "Spitfire" steamer here; and Admiral Baudin was to remain till the 14th instant, as he was waiting for the arrival of a store-ship which was to join him from Toulon. In the meantime, however, the letter carried by the "Caton" to Palermo gave rise to the proposal of the Palermitans to submit, which detained the Admiral some time longer until the result was ascertained; and now this expedition from France in support of the Pope will cause him to prolong his stay on this coast.

Neapolitan troops to the amount of about 12,000 men are collected on the frontier, ready to act in case they should be required to advance on Rome.

The members of the Diplomatic Body who are occupied with the affairs of the Pope, are assembled now at Gaeta.

## No. 20.

*Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 9, 1849.*

IN reply to your despatch of the 25th ultimo, I have to acquaint you that I approve of your having instructed Mr. Petre to call the attention of the Roman Government to the state of affairs at Ancona.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

## No. 21.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 10.)*

(Extract.)

*Paris, May 8, 1849.*

THE excitement in the Assembly yesterday, as soon as the nature of the news from Rome became known, was very great. All the facts were assumed upon the authority of private letters; but it was evident there was so general a dissatisfaction and uneasiness, that it was impossible to maintain the reserve which, under other circumstances, the imperfect state of information would well have justified. The Ministers therefore consented to the appointment of a Commission to examine into the instructions given by them to the General. The composition of this Commission was hostile, and the report was such as might in consequence have been expected.

## No. 22.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 10.)*

My Lord,

*Paris, May 9, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship a number of the "Constitutionnel," containing the copy of a letter addressed by the President of the Republic to General Oudinot, with reference to the operations of the French forces in the Roman States.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

## Inclosure in No. 22.

*The President of the French Republic to General Oudinot.*

Mon cher Général,

*Elysée-National, 8 Mai, 1849.*

LA nouvelle télégraphique qui annonce la résistance imprévue que vous avez rencontrée sous les murs de Rome m'a vivement peiné. J'espérais, vous le savez, que les habitans de Rome, ouvrant les yeux à l'évidence, recevraient avec empressement une armée qui venait accomplir chez eux une mission bienveillante et désintéressée. Il en a été autrement: nos soldats ont été reçus en ennemis; notre honneur militaire est engagé; je ne souffrirai pas qu'il reçoive aucune atteinte. Les renforts ne vous manqueront pas. Dites à vos soldats que j'apprécie leur bravoure, que je partage leurs peines, et qu'ils pourront toujours compter sur mon appui et sur ma reconnaissance.

Recevez, &amp;c.

(Signé) LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

(Translation.)

My dear General,

*Elysée National, May 8, 1849.*

THE telegraphic intelligence which announces the unlooked-for resistance which you have encountered under the walls of Rome has affected me greatly. I hoped, as you know, that the inhabitants of Rome, opening their eyes to evidence, would eagerly receive an army which arrived for the purpose of effecting as regards them a kind and disinterested task. The result has been different: our soldiers have been received as enemies; our military honour is involved; I will not allow that it should sustain any damage. Reinforcements shall not be wanting to you. Tell your soldiers that I appreciate their bravery, that I share their toils, and that they can always reckon upon my support and upon my gratitude.

Receive, &amp;c.

(Signed) LOUIS NAPOLEON.

No. 23.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 11.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, May 1, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that yesterday at 10 a.m. the city gates, "Porta Cavallegieri" and "Porta St. Pancrazio," both within gunshot of St. Peter's, were attacked by the advance guard of about 5000 men of General Oudinot's force, consisting of 9000 men, and after a severe conflict of about six hours, were repulsed with great loss on the part of the French. As far as I can learn, about 350 of the French have been made prisoners, and amongst them 12 or 13 officers of rank, about 400 killed and wounded in proportion; on the whole, I am of opinion about 1200 men *hors de combat*. At 5 o'clock p.m. the fire had ceased.

It is superfluous to say that the French behaved with great bravery, but they were met by men equally brave; in short the conflict was desperate. On the part of the Romans not more than 3000 were engaged, part in the open field and part behind the barricades, in which they were assisted by the mass of the population, including the women. The Romans had a reserve of about 10,000 men between regular troops and volunteers that were not allowed to act, in order that they might be fresh to meet the remainder of General Oudinot's body of troops, if necessary; the Romans have lost 18 officers and about 200 men placed *hors de combat*; amongst them about 40 students, sons of the most respectable families in Rome.

It would appear, my Lord, from what I have been able to learn, that General Oudinot calculated on the reactionist party in the city, but not an individual made his appearance, for this reason, that the mass of the people are ill-disposed to the restoration of the Ecclesiastical Government.

It was expected that the attack would be renewed this morning, as the French are encamped about three miles from the city, but as yet no second attack has taken place. Immense preparations are making, barricades are forming in the streets, and every means of defence adopted by a population of 160,000, and about 15,000 between regular troops and volunteers; consequently great loss of life must ensue, and destruction of property. All the neighbouring towns are sending in reinforcements.

It is my duty to state to your Lordship that anarchy has not existed in the city of Rome, and that crime has diminished.

I have not failed to afford every protection in my power to the English in Rome, by receiving part in my house, and by offering them an asylum at a neighbouring hotel, under the immediate protection of a strong body of Civic Guard which was granted to me in the most courteous manner by the Roman authorities.

I have called a meeting of the Consuls of foreign Powers at this Consular residence; the result has been that we have offered our services to the Municipality of Rome, should they be required, when by our interference we may save effusion of blood and destruction of property.

## No. 24.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 10.)*

(Extract.)

*Florence, May 2, 1849.*

I SEE in to-day's newspapers, that Lord Lansdowne has been questioned in the House of Lords relative to the reported sale of works of art at Florence and at Rome.

I have the honour to inform your Lordship that no sale whatever of any of the contents of the public collections at Rome or Florence has taken place.

## No. 25.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 11.)*

My Lord,

*Florence, May 3, 1849.*

THE telegraph from Marseilles to Paris will have furnished your Lordship with so much more recent intelligence of the French expedition to Civita Vecchia than I can give you from hence, that I have hitherto abstained from addressing your Lordship on that subject.

From the accounts of the state of Rome given by travellers arriving from that city, it would appear that if the French Government counted upon a great reaction in favour of the Papal Government which should manifest itself as soon as the French troops touched the Roman soil, they have been much deceived, as no such reaction has taken place, at least in Rome, where a hatred of Priestly Government seems to be deeply rooted in the minds of the great mass of the people.

The Romans appear determined to resist; and a report reached Florence yesterday evening, that the French had been obliged to retire after a conflict in the neighbourhood of Rome, in which they sustained considerable loss.

I do not understand that there is much objection to the Pope personally among the Romans, but the dislike of the cardinals and priests is unbounded, and the palaces of some of the nobles, particularly the Doria and Borgese Palaces, are threatened with destruction.

Ancona has been placed in a state of siege, and the Government seem to be taking some measures to arrest the murderers who infest that city.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

## No. 26.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.*

Sir,

*Admiralty, May 10, 1849.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, copies of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, dated the 1st instant, with its inclosures, reporting the arrangements he has made for the protection of British interests at Ancona and other places in the Adriatic, and that the Sardinian squadron had proceeded to Genoa.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

## Inclosure 1 in No. 26.

*Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir,

*"Caledonia," Malta, May 1, 1849.*

I HAVE this instant received Mr. Ward's letter of the 18th April, conveying the directions of the Lords of the Admiralty that a ship may be sent to Ancona for the protection of British trade. It is my intention to dispatch the "Frolic" there to-morrow. The inclosed extract of a communication which I received only five days ago from Captain Symonds, will in the meantime apprise their Lordships that the "Spartan" was on the 19th ultimo at Ancona, and that no danger to British residents was then apprehended. The "Racer" had not at that date joined the "Spartan." Captain Symonds will consequently return to Trieste and remain there until apprehensions for the safety of Her Majesty's subjects are removed, or until I can send the "Ardent" or "Sharpshooter" to Venice, which I trust will be in accordance with their Lordships' directions contained in Mr. Ward's letter of the 8th ultimo.

The Sardinian squadron has I believe left the Adriatic. One frigate and five steamers anchored for a couple of days in Valletta Harbour on their way to Genoa, and the frigate bearing Admiral Albini's flag appeared off this port on the 28th of April, when she had communication by boat with the Sardinian ships which were then inside the harbour. The whole have since proceeded to their destination.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) W. PARKER.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 26.

*Captain Symonds to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.*

(Extract.)

*"Spartan," Ancona, April 19, 1849.*

I ARRIVED here this morning at 8 A.M., and have just communicated with Mr. Moore, our Consul here.

This place seems in a melancholy state: murders have occurred in the open day; but they seem to have limited these atrocities to themselves; and as there are six English vessels here I see no cause of alarm to British subjects, which amount to four families.

The French steamer "Brazier," that was stationed here, has left for Trieste.

The "Agile," French brig-of-war, is coming here.

I hear nothing of Vice-Admiral Albini's squadron, and have seen nothing, although I have twice crossed the gulf.

## No. 27.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 15.)*

My Lord,

*Florence, May 5, 1849.*

WITH reference to the state of Ancona I have received advices from that town that the state of siege is maintained. Arrests continue to be made, and persons are searched in the streets for prohibited arms.

On the 2nd instant the French Consul was summoned to appear before the Governor and chief officers, and then informed that if the two French war-steamers did not quit those waters they would be sunk.

The two steamers are preparing to leave at once.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.



No. 28.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 15.)*

My Lord,

Rome, May 5, 1849.

IN my despatch dated the 1st instant, I had the honour to report to your Lordship the attack and retreat of the French troops under the command of General Oudinot, who I am informed proposes to make a second attempt.

I now beg leave to inform your Lordship that the advance guard of the Neapolitan troops, about 15,000 men, has reached Albano, fifteen miles from Rome.

The preparations for defence are on a large scale, and I regret to say that in doing this great destruction of property has taken place; all the villas, trees, &c., near the approaches to the town gates, have been blown up and cut down. The English chapel, I fear, will meet the same fate, and the military authorities are placing cannon on the churches. I also fear that the splendid palaces of Princes Doria, Borghese, &c., will meet the same fate; in short there is every appearance of immense loss of life and property, as the populace and troops are filling the houses with paving stones, &c., determined (as they state) to resist the return of the Ecclesiastical Government.

The Republic of course must succumb under such force; but I must in justice say, that the men in power have, under all the circumstances, shown courage and moderation.

On the 30th instant Vice-Consul Lowe, at Civita Vecchia, sent me a despatch brought by the "Spitfire" from Naples, which has never reached me, and I am still without any particular instructions.

No works of art have either been secreted or offered for sale; on the contrary, they have been restored, preserved and protected.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) JOHN FREEBORN.

No. 29.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 15.)*

(Extract.)

Rome, May 5, 1849.

IN my despatch dated the 6th of April, I had the honour to inform your Lordship that I had recommended the English residing in Rome to quit the city. This advice I repeated daily, but it was treated with ridicule and indifference.

The attack upon the city by the French caused alarm, but the approach of the Neapolitan army has struck a panic; I allow not without cause, as much mischief must ensue from such troops.

I have been assailed by all sides and at all hours by the British visitors and residents to obtain permits for them to quit the city, declared to be in a state of siege. I have not failed to exert myself both by personal and written applications to procure for them the means of departure, but the military authorities (in whose hands all power is vested) refused to allow horses to quit the town. However I am happy to say that my laborious exertions have enabled numerous families to quit.

No. 30.

*Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.*

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 16, 1849.

I HAVE received a despatch from Mr. Freeborn, the British Consular Agent at Rome, dated the 5th instant, stating that he apprehends that great loss of life and destruction of property will ensue upon the approach of the

Neapolitan troops to Rome; and I have to direct your Excellency to request that the French Government will give instructions to General Oudinot to afford protection to British subjects at Rome.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 31.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 17.)*

My Lord, Paris, May 16, 1849.  
THE French Government have received letters from Rome to-day, which incline them to hope that the affairs of that city will be peaceably arranged, in consequence of an appeal likely to be made to the French General for his amicable intervention between the people and the Pope.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 32.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 18.)*

My Lord, Paris, May 17, 1849.  
I INCLOSE a copy of a telegraphic message which arrived yesterday afternoon, and confirmed what M. Drouyn de Lhuys had previously anticipated as to the renewed desire on the part of the *de facto* Government of Rome to put itself in communication with the Commandant of the French Forces, and endeavour to obtain through his means better terms for the Roman people than if obliged to submit unconditionally upon the advance of the Neapolitans and Austrians.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) NORMANBY.

Inclosure in No. 32.

*Telegraphic Message.*

*Paris, le 16 Mai.*

LE Gouvernement vient de recevoir la dépêche télégraphique suivante, du Contre-Amiral Tréhouart, en date de Toulon, le 16 Mai au matin :

“ Je suis parti avant-hier à sept heures du soir de Civita Vecchia, où le bruit courait, dès la veille, que deux envoyés Romains, porteurs de paroles d'accommodement, s'étaient rendus à notre quartier-général. Ces bruits m'ont été confirmés par une lettre du Général-en-chef du 13 au soir, de Castel di Guido :

“ ‘Déjà des propositions sérieuses de soumission me sont faites.’

“ J'arrive à Toulon avec le ‘Labrador’ et le ‘Sané,’ pour les faire concourir le plus tôt possible au transport des nombreux chevaux qui sont dirigés sur Civita Vecchia.”

(Translation.)

*Paris, May 16.*

THE Government has just received the following telegraphic despatch from Rear-Admiral Tréhouart, dated Toulon, the 16th of May in the morning :

“The day before yesterday, at seven in the evening, I left Civita Vecchia, where it was reported, since the previous evening, that two Roman Envoys, bearers of proposals for an agreement, had proceeded to our head-quarters. These reports were confirmed to me by a letter from the General-in-chief, dated the evening of the 13th, from Castel di Guido.

“ ‘Already serious proposals of submission are made to me.’

"I come to Toulon with the 'Labrador' and 'Le Sané,' in order that they may assist as soon as possible in the conveyance of the numerous horses on their way to Civita Vecchia."

## No. 33.

*Prince Schwarzenberg to Count Colloredo.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Count Colloredo, May 17.)*

M. le Comte,

*Vienna, le 29 Avril, 1849.*

LE Gouvernement de l'Empereur a transmis au Maréchal Comte Radetzky l'ordre de faire entrer des troupes tant en Toscane que dans les Légations.

En nous décidant à prendre cette mesure, nous n'avons fait que nous rendre à l'appel qui nous a été adressé dans ce but de la part du Grand Duc de Toscane comme de la part du Saint Père, ce dernier ayant à la fois eu recours à l'intervention armée de la France, de l'Espagne, et de Naples.

Le but de notre intervention n'est autre que le rétablissement des Gouvernemens légitimes et de l'ordre légal. Dès que ce but aura été atteint, et il le sera bientôt, nous l'espérons, grâce au concours de la partie saine des populations, nos troupes se retireront.

Quant à l'intervention dans l'Etat de l'Eglise, nous aurions désiré qu'il nous eût été permis d'attendre que les arrêtés de la Conférence de Gaëte, tout en mettant en relief l'accord existant entre les Puissances dont le Saint Père a spécialement réclamé le concours, eussent apporté à leur action de l'ensemble et de l'unité.

La France ayant pris le parti de devancer par l'expédition de Civita Vecchia les arrêtés de la Conférence, nous n'en espérons pas moins que le but vers lequel tendront ses efforts isolés se confondront avec celui que les Quatre Puissances avaient été appelées à poursuivre de commun accord.

Nous ne voulons, pour notre part, que remplir les vœux du Saint Père, identiques à ceux du monde civilisé, en coopérant dans la limite de nos facultés à rendre au Chef de l'Eglise Universelle, sa liberté et son indépendance, que les peuples Catholiques ne sauraient voir avec indifférence confisquée au profit d'un parti anarchiste. La France, en dernier analyse, ne saurait vouloir autre chose. Dès-lors, j'aime à le croire, l'action des deux Puissances, tout en ayant l'air d'obéir à des impulsions divergentes, n'amènera point de conflit entre elles, et aboutira au contraire à des résultats également profitables au bien-être des peuples de l'Italie Centrale, comme à la cause de l'ordre général.

Je vous prie, M. le Comte, de donner lecture de cette dépêche à M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) SCHWARZENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

*Vienna, April 29, 1849.*

THE Government of the Emperor has sent to Marshal Count Radetzky orders to advance troops as well into Tuscany as into the Legations.

In deciding upon this measure we have only responded to the demand which has been addressed to us to this effect on the part of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, as well as on the part of the Holy Father, the latter having at the same time applied for the armed intervention of France, Spain, and Naples.

The object of our intervention is no other than the reestablishment of the legitimate Governments and of legal order. Whenever this object shall have been attained, and, thanks to the cooperation of the sane portion of the population, it will be so we hope shortly, our troops will retire.

As regards the intervention in the State of the Church, we could have wished to have been allowed to wait until the decisions of the Conference of Gaeta, while placing in relief the agreement existing between the Powers whose support the Holy Father has especially claimed, had given to their endeavours combination and uniformity.

France having decided by the expedition to Civita Vecchia, to act in advance of the decisions of the Conference, we do not the less hope that the object at which her isolated efforts aim, will prove to be the same as that which the Four Powers had been called upon to effect by common action.

For our part we only wish to comply with the wishes of the Holy Father, identical with those of the civilized world, by cooperating within the limits of our means, to restore to the Chief of the Universal Church his liberty and independence, which Catholic populations cannot with indifference see destroyed to the advantage of an anarchistical party. France, if we examine it well, can have no other object; I therefore willingly believe that the measures of the two Powers, while they may appear to be dictated by different impulses, will not bring about any conflict between them; but, on the contrary, will lead to results equally conducive to the well-being of the people of Central Italy and to the cause of general order.

I beg you, M. le Comte, to allow the Principal Secretary of State to read this despatch.

Accept, &c.  
(Signed) SCHWARZENBERG.

No. 34.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 18.)*

(Extract.)

Paris, May 17, 1849.

I RECEIVED this morning by post your Lordship's despatch of yesterday's date, respecting the position of the English residents at Rome. I have since spoken to M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the subject, and he has promised to communicate at once with General Oudinot as to the protection to be extended to British subjects.

No. 35.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 19.)*

(Extract.)

Rome, May 9, 1849.

I BEG leave to inform your Lordship that out of 150 British subjects who were in Rome when it was attacked by the French troops, only 10 remain, who I trust will leave to-morrow.

No. 36.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 12.)*

(Extract.)

Florence, May 11, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Austrians commenced the bombardment of Bologna on the 8th instant, which continued during the day, and it recommenced on the 9th at midday.

Her Majesty's Consul writes to me from Ferrara, that 5000 Austrians have summoned that city to surrender and recognise the Pope.

No. 37.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 21.)*

(Extract.)

Florence, May 12, 1849.

BOLOGNA still holds out, and the bombardment continues at intervals. A good deal of skirmishing has taken place attended with loss of life on both sides.

No. 38.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.—(Received May 23.)*

Sir,

*Admiralty, May 21, 1849.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, copies of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, dated the 8th instant, and of its inclosures from the Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Spartan," reporting his proceedings in visiting Venice and Ancona.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 38.

*Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir,

*"Caledonia," Malta, May 8, 1849.*

BE pleased to acquaint the Lords of the Admiralty that Her Majesty's ship "Spartan" arrived here last night from the Adriatic.

I inclose for their Lordships' information the copy of a letter from Captain Symonds, reporting the result of his visit to Venice and Ancona.

The "Racer" was left at the former port; and their Lordships will have learnt from my letter of the 1st instant, of my intention to dispatch the "Frolic" for the protection of British subjects at Ancona, whither she proceeded on the following day, and I hope by this time has reached her destination.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) W. PARKER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 38.

*Captain Symonds to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.*

(Extract.)

*"Spartan," at sea, April 27, 1849.*

I ARRIVED at Ancona on the 26th of April, where I remained twenty-four hours, at the pressing instance of Her Majesty's Consul.

Threats having been issued against him, which might have been founded, I waited on the Governor and most energetically called upon him to protect Her Britannic Majesty's Consul and British subjects from the outrages existing in Ancona, and demanded the arrest of a gang of assassins who, amongst numerous atrocities, murdered an Irish Carmelite monk in open daylight. He satisfied both the Consul and myself as to the security of British residents and property; these atrocities being confined to those who had made themselves politically odious to the dominant faction. He promised me to arrest the gang in question during the night which the Consul informed me this morning had been done. Her Britannic Majesty's Consul made no request to me to remain longer at Ancona. I offered on two occasions to remove him or any other British resident who might think themselves in danger at Ancona.

An Austrian squadron of two frigates, with a Vice and Rear-Admiral's flag flying, two sloops, and a steam-vessel, were at Pisano when I passed on the morning of the 24th instant; the position of the blockading squadron I have before detailed.

No. 39.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.*

Sir,

*Admiralty, May 22, 1849.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith for the information of Viscount Palmerston, a copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, dated the 6th instant, with its inclosures in original, relative to the proceedings of the French forces in the Roman States.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 39.

*Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Extract.)

*"Caledonia," Malta, May 6, 1849.*

BY the accompanying reports from Captain Sir James Stirling, of Her Majesty's ship "Howe," and Lieutenant Willes, commanding the "Spitfire," the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty will learn the particulars of the disembarkation of the French expedition from Toulon, at Civita Vecchia, on the 25th ultimo, and their subsequent proceedings up to the 28th April, since which the French Consul at Malta has received information from the captain of the French steam-packet which arrived yesterday from Italy, that the division of the army under General Oudinot, when about to enter the gates of Rome, met with a severe check, which obliged them to retreat with considerable loss.

Inclosure 2 in No. 39.

*Captain Sir James Stirling to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.*

(Extract.)

*"Howe," Naples, May 2, 1849.*

THE mail from Rome on the 28th ultimo brought authentic intelligence of the arrival of the French expedition at Civita Vecchia. It brought also copies of General Oudinot's address to the army prior to its embarkation at Marseilles, and of his proclamation to the inhabitants.

Upon his landing on the Roman territory, it appeared to Mr. Temple and to myself that it was expedient to send the "Spitfire" to Civita Vecchia, for the double purpose of obtaining accurate information, and of affording to British subjects in that quarter an opportunity to escape from the scene of military operations. I accordingly dispatched Lieutenant Willes on the evening of the 28th.

At 10 A.M. of yesterday, the "Spitfire" returned to this anchorage; and I have the honour herewith to transmit Lieutenant Willes's report.

The "Spitfire" is in quarantine, and probably will not be released before the end of the week. I have learnt, however, from Lieutenant Willes, that there is no present prospect of communications being opened between Civita Vecchia and Rome; and in fact that no one is permitted to quit the latter city. It seems therefore at present useless to send the "Spitfire" back to remain at Civita Vecchia for the reception of British subjects.

## Inclosure 3 in No. 39.

*Proclamation of General Oudinot.**Civita Vecchia, 24 Aprile, 1849.*

IL Governo della Repubblica Francese, animato da spirito liberale, dichiara dover rispettare il voto della maggioranza delle popolazioni Romane, e di venire amichevolmente nello scopo di mantenere la sua legittima influenza, è deciso ancora di non imporre a queste popolazioni alcuna forma di Governo che non sia da esse bramato.

Perciò che concerne il Governatore di Civita Vecchia, sarà conservato in tutte le sue attribuzioni, e il Governo Francese provvederà all'aumento delle sue spese derivanti dall' accrescimento del lavoro che produrrà il corpo di spedizione.

Tutte le derrate, tutte le requisizioni necessarie al mantenimento del corpo di spedizione saranno pagate a moneta contante.

Il Capo Squadrone, Aiutante di Campo del Comandante in capo.

(Firmato) ESPIRANO.

(Translation.)

*Civita Vecchia, April 24, 1849.*

THE Government of the French Republic, animated by a liberal spirit, declares that the wishes of the majority of the Roman people should be respected, and that it comes as a friend, with the view of maintaining its legitimate influence; it is moreover resolved not to impose on this population any form of Government which is not desired by it.

Touching the Governor of Civita Vecchia, he shall be maintained in all his powers, and the French Government will provide for the increase of his expenses, arising from the additional labour which the corps of the expedition may produce.

All provisions and requisitions necessary for the maintenance of the expedition shall be paid for in ready-money.

The Chief of the squadron, aide-de-camp of the Commander-in-chief,

(Signed) ESPIRANO.

## Inclosure 4 in No. 39.

*Proclamation of General Oudinot.*

Abitanti degli Stati Romani,

*Civita Vecchia, Aprile, 1849.*

IN presenza degli avvenimenti che agitano l'Italia, la Repubblica Francese ha risoluto di mandare un corpo d'armata sul vostro territorio; non per difendere il Governo attuale che non ha riconosciuto, ma per frastornare dalla patria vostra immenso sciagure.

La Francia non pretende assumere il diritto di rigolare gli interessi i quali sono essenzialmente quelli delle popolazioni Romane, ma che però nello insieme generale, sono collegati con quelli di Europa intiera non che di tutto il mondo Cristiano.

La Francia ha creduto che in virtù della sua posizione era più specialmente chiamata ad intervenire onde facilitare lo stabilimento di uno stato di cose ugualmente opposto agli abusi per giammai distrutti dalla generosità dell' illustre Pio IX ed al anarchia di questi ultimi tempi.

La bandiera che io vengo ad inalberare sulla vostra riva è bandiera della pace, dell' ordine, della conciliazione, della vera libertà.

Intorno ad essa si raduneranno tutti quelli che vorranno concorrere all' adempimento di questa santa e patriottica impresa.

Il Generale Comandante in capo,

(Firmato) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

(Translation.)

Inhabitants of the Roman States,

Civita Vecchia, April 1849.

IN consequence of the events by which Italy is agitated, the French Republic is resolved to send an army to your territory, not to defend the existing Government, which it has not recognised, but to ward off fearful evils from your country.

France does not pretend to assume a right to regulate interests which are essentially those of the Roman people, but which, nevertheless, taken in their general bearings, are connected with those of all Europe, and even of the entire Christian world.

France has felt that, by virtue of her position, she is more especially called upon to interfere in order to facilitate the establishment of a state of things which is equally opposed to the abuses for ever destroyed by the generosity of the illustrious Pio IX, and to the anarchy of the recent times.

The flag which I have just now planted upon your shores is the flag of peace, order, conciliation, and true liberty.

All those will gather around it who are desirous of co-operating in the accomplishment of this holy and patriotic endeavour.

The General, Commander-in-chief,  
(Signed) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

Inclosure 5 in No. 39.

*Address of General Oudinot to the Army.**Marsiglio, 20 Aprile, 1849.*

IL Presidente della Repubblica viene a confidarmi il comando in capo del corpo di spedizione nel Mediterraneo.

Quest' onore imporre di grandi doveri; il vostro patriottismo m'aiuterà a compierle.

Il Governo risoluto a mantenere ovunque la nostra antica e legittima influenza, non ha voluto che i destini de' popoli Italiani possano essere in balia d'una Potenza straniera e di un partito in minorità.

Egli ci confida la bandiera della Francia, per piantarla nel territorio Romano, come una eclatante testimonianza della nostra simpatia. Soldati di terra e di mare, figli della medesima famiglia, voi metterete in comune i vostri attaccamenti ed i vostri sforzi. Questa fraternità vi farà sopportare con gioia i disagi, le privazioni, le fatiche nella terra ove voi andate a discendere: voi riconoscerete tutto il passato dei monumenti e delle ricordanze che stimolerà potentemente il vostro istinto di gloria. L'onore militare comanda tanto la disciplina che il coraggio: non li obliate giammai.

I vostri padri hanno avuto il raro privilegio di fare amare teneramente il nome Francese o vunque essi hanno combattuto.

Voi rispetterete le proprietà e gli usi delle popolazioni amiche. E nell'interesse di tutelare tali cose che il Governo ha prescritto che le spese dell'armata venissero pagate in contante.

Voi prenderete in ogni occasione per regola di condotta questi principi di alta moralità. Con le vostre armi, col vostro esempio, voi farete rispettare la dignità dei popoli: ella soffre egualmente colla licenza e col dispotismo. L'Alta Italia ci dovrà ciò che la Francia ha saputo acquistare però e medesima l'ordine, la libertà.

(Firmato) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

(Translation.)

*Marseilles, April 20, 1849.*

THE President of the Republic has intrusted to me the chief command of the expedition to the Mediterranean.

This honour imposes on me important duties; your patriotism will help me to fulfil them.



The Government being determined to maintain everywhere our ancient and legitimate influence, will not allow the destinies of the people of Italy to be in the hands of a foreign Power and of a party which is in a minority.

It intrusts to us the banner of France, to be planted in the Roman territory, in marked testimony of our sympathies. Soldiers and sailors, sons of the same family, you will unite your attachments and your efforts. This fraternity will enable you joyfully to bear with discomforts, privations, and fatigues, in the land where you are about to disembark; you will see there those monuments and recollections of the past, which will powerfully stimulate your instinct of glory. Military honour commands obedience as well as courage: never forget them!

Your fathers have had the rare privilege of making the French name tenderly loved wherever they have fought.

You will respect the property and the usages of friendly populations. With the object of protecting these interests, the Government has commanded that the expenses of the army be paid in ready-money.

On all occasions you will make these principles of high morality the rule of your conduct. With your arms and your example you will make the dignity of nations respected; it suffers equally by licentiousness and despotism. Italy will owe to us what France has been able to acquire; order and liberty are identical.

(Signed)

OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

Inclosure 6 in No. 39.

*Lieutenant Wiles to Captain Sir James Stirling.*

Sir,

"*Spitfire*," Naples, May 1, 1849.

IN pursuance of your directions I arrived in Her Majesty's steam-vessel under my command at Civita Vecchia at 4 P.M. of the 29th ultimo, and immediately delivered Mr. Temple's despatches to Mr. Lowe, Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at that place.

I found there three French war-steamers and two transports, the French and Roman flags hanging together on the citadel.

It appears that on the morning of the 24th the French steam-frigate "*Panama*" arrived there with an aide-de-camp of the French General, Oudinot, the commander of the Mediterranean Expedition, who stated that the General intended landing a large force immediately; that if a shot was fired at them, he would lay the city under a heavy contribution.

The Governor refused to allow them to land, but requested twenty-four hours to deliberate, which was refused. On the following day a council of war having decided on not resisting the landing, a deputation went off to the French ship with that answer. The troops immediately commenced their disembarkation from eleven steamers, two frigates, and two transports; and as far as I can ascertain, the total force was about 8000 infantry, a few cavalry, and 12 field-guns, the greater part encamping round the walls of the city.

Immediately they were all landed, Admiral Tréhouart, who commanded the naval part of the expedition, returned to France with eight steamers and two frigates; and it was stated that they were expected on their return with 5000 men of all arms.

The transports have been landing, and are still landing, large quantities of provisions, baggage, waggons, &c., and the camp equipage was declared to be in the most perfect state, giving the inhabitants the idea that it was decidedly an army of occupation.

Civita Vecchia is in actual possession of the French, a colonel being the Governor *de facto*. All the regular troops have been disarmed; the city is given out to be in a state of siege, the French troops behaving uncommonly well, and the inhabitants generally showing a most perfect indifference to the passing events.

A Sardinian steamer, with 400 Lombard emigrants, who had been invited to Rome to assist in its defence, were refused admittance into the port of Civita Vecchia the day after the French arrived.

The Roman Governor was arrested and put in prison a few hours before we sailed yesterday, for an alleged breach of faith in carrying on a political correspondence.

It was my intention to have proceeded to Rome immediately on my arrival, thinking I should obtain much more information in a few hours there of what was going on than in correspondence with Mr. Freehorn; but I considered the state of affairs made it too hazardous.

It appears that on General Oudinot landing he immediately sent forward envoys to Rome; and Mazzini stated to the House of Assembly there that on asking them to explain what was the motive and object of sending an armed force to occupy a part of the territory of the Republic, they answered: that the first motive was to preserve the Roman State from an Austrian invasion which was then being meditated and prepared; that the second was to know precisely what the sentiments of the people were as to the form of Government they thought most suitable to them, and to seek to promote a perfect reconciliation between Pius IX and the Roman population.

The Assembly, who were in a great state of alarm and agitation, refused this explanation, and decided on resisting.

The Triumvirate then sent down the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Civita Vecchia, who had an interview with General Oudinot, from whom he received no other explanation than those given at Rome.

The vanguard of the French army immediately commenced their march on Rome, and by the 28th ultimo the whole, except a few hundreds to garrison Civita Vecchia, had proceeded in the same direction; and the latest accounts state they had arrived within a short distance of the Holy City.

In the meantime a great many outward preparations have been made to resist the French entry into Rome. The bridges are reported to be destroyed, several of the chief buildings undermined, &c., but this latter requires confirmation.

I could not discover whether there is any great feeling among the people in favour of the Pope, as there is such perfect indifference among the people at Civita Vecchia; but there is such a scarcity of money in the capital, that corn is at 35 per cent. premium; so it is generally thought that the Pope's return is the only remedy for this alarming evil.

The latest accounts from Rome are of the 26th ultimo. At that time it was given out that the city would be defended to the last, and every preparation was being made for that purpose, the general impression being that the Austrian and Neapolitan troops were acting in concert with the French; but the fact of 18,000 Austrians having arrived at Carrara and Massa, together with the French statement to the contrary, makes that idea absurd.

I waited at Civita Vecchia until 5:30 P.M. of yesterday, hoping to receive despatches from Mr. Freehorn, and I then left for this place according to your orders.

I beg to inclose the proclamation of the General-in-chief, as well as a declaration to the people of Civita Vecchia. Nothing had been heard of any ill-treatment towards the English, many of whom had left for other places.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEO. WILLES.

No. 40.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.*

Sir,

*Admiralty, May 22, 1849.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, a letter from Commander A. C. Key, of Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Bulldog," dated the 10th May, reporting his proceedings, and relating to the state of affairs in the Roman States.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 40.

Commander Key to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.

*"Bulldog," Palo, May 10 (finished at  
Civita Vecchia, May 12), 1849.*

Sir,

ACCORDING to your order of the 2nd ultimo I arrived at Civita Vecchia on the morning of the 6th, and there obtained the following information, the truth of which I have since confirmed.

2. You are already acquainted with the movements of the French army up to the 28th. On the morning of the 29th, General Oudinot, who was then encamped at Maglianella, about five miles from Rome, ordered the advanced guard (consisting of 5,600 men with two field-pieces) to approach the city, conceiving that he had merely to show his intention of attacking, and the gates would be opened for his admittance. They advanced towards the Porta Cavallegieri and St. Panerazio, the principal force appearing before the former, which is the strongest and most easily defended point of the city; when near the walls, Garibaldi, who was lying in ambush with about 2000 troops on the right flank of the French, surrounded a detachment of them and captured at one stroke 268 prisoners. As the French approached the Porta Cavallegieri, a masked battery opened fire on them, and volleys of musketry poured from the walls; the French brought up their two field-pieces, and attacked the walls with undiminished courage; all, however, was unavailing against so strong a position, and after attempting to scale the walls with spike-nails, and having between 300 and 400 men put *hors de combat*, they were compelled to retreat, with a loss in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners of upwards of 600 men. The General then withdrew his force to Palo, to await reinforcements from France.

3. In this position I found them on my arrival at Civita Vecchia on May 6th, part of the reinforcement having been just landed from the squadron under Rear-Admiral Tréhouart.

4. Having been informed that owing to the preparations that were being made for resistance at Rome, the English residents had great difficulty in quitting it, I deemed it my duty to go there to endeavour to extricate them before a second attack was made. For this purpose I went in the "Bulldog," the same afternoon to Palo, and leaving her at that anchorage, proceeded by land early on the 7th to Rome, having obtained permission from General Oudinot to pass through his advanced posts. Arriving at Rome I found the gates barricaded and fortified, the walls of the city much strengthened, and every appearance of a determination to make a vigorous resistance.

5. I went without loss of time to the Triumvirate; acquainted Mazzini that I had come to assist the British residents in leaving Rome, and requested him to aid me in doing so. He showed every disposition to do all in his power for the benefit of our countrymen, but said that the impediment was purely a military one: the horses required for posting are the property of Government, and the loss of those which would be required to take away the foreigners would considerably weaken them; also, that if foreigners were permitted to go to Civita Vecchia, information would be conveyed to the French, and the horses fall into their hands. This was reasonable; but on my showing him how unwise it would be to detain foreigners in Rome at this moment, and how little their cause could suffer from the information conveyed, I obtained permission for foreigners to leave Rome in any direction, with private or hired horses, and I guaranteed that the horses should not be detained by the French army. Within two days nearly all who were anxious to leave were gone—those remaining doing so from their own dilatoriness, or possessing property from which they would not separate. This property was considerable, but the Triumvirate promised to take it under their special protection.

6. On the afternoon of the 7th the Roman Government decided on releasing the French prisoners. They were brought out in the streets, and received with every mark of good feeling by the people, who cheered them, gave them food, and showed them round St. Peter's and the monuments; the French, in return, saying that they had been deceived, having entered the Roman territory with the idea that they were to join the Romans against the Austrians and Neapolitans. They were then permitted to return to their own head-quarters.

7. On the morning of the 8th I went to Albano, the head-quarters of the Neapolitan army, to obtain a promise from the General commanding to protect the British, in case he should take Rome by assault.

8. I found the army (which consisted of about 14,000 men, with upwards of 40 pieces of artillery) occupying Albano and Velletri, with the inclosed country—the King commanding in person. On making known the object of my visit, through General Caselli, the second in command, His Majesty expressed a wish to see me. I repeated my request to His Majesty, who in the most cordial manner promised his especial protection to the English, if the contingency I referred to should arise. I specified the part of the town in which their property was situated. His Majesty then showed much anxiety to become acquainted with the movements of the French army and to learn the particulars of their repulse. I informed him as far as I felt myself at liberty to do. He evidently was entirely ignorant of their intentions as well as of the position of the Romans, and I received the impression that His Majesty was not at present meditating an attack on Rome, but had sent to the French General to persuade him to act in concert with him. The people at Albano, though not Republicans, are much dissatisfied with the Neapolitans, who have enforced the cry of "*Viva il Rè!*" everywhere, and imprisoned many who were suspected of being averse to the intervention.

9. I returned to Rome the same afternoon and again went to Mazzini to repeat my request for protection of the British property which must unavoidably remain in Rome. He, after assuring me of its safety from all within the walls, asked me my opinion of their prospects. I could not then refrain from stating unofficially what I thought might save bloodshed if acted on. I answered that it seemed to me madness to think of resisting; that it was evident that Rome must fall, either to the French at once or to the Catholic Powers combined; that now was the moment to treat with the French alone, and that this moment would soon pass, as the French having received a check, they would not be satisfied until they obtained possession of Rome; delay on their part to attack or on that of the Romans to treat would increase the probability of a combination of the Catholic Powers, in which case, the Romans might rest assured that the old form of Government would be imposed upon them; that at present they had saved their honour and were enabled to treat with the French alone, with even greater advantage than they had previously possessed; in fact I used every argument to convince him of the folly of resistance. Mazzini replied that they had great confidence in the good feeling of the French people towards them, and that on the arrival of the news in France of the real object of the expedition, a violent reaction would take place in their favour; that a combination of many Powers was more likely to defeat the object in view than to obtain it, and showed evidently that Avezzana and he (who are now the actual leaders of the Romans) are determined to hazard this last venture: it is their last in Italy; for when Rome surrenders all is over with them.

10. The general feeling among the Roman people appears to be in favour of making terms with the French, as they show no objection to the return of the Pope, but great repugnance to an Ecclesiastical Government. The leaders keep up their determination to resist by means of their recent successes, by a promise of assistance from Bologna and the provinces, and by encouraging the feeling against the priests, assuring the people that the return of the Pope can only take place with the old system of a spiritual administration.

11. On the morning of the 9th I left Rome for Palo, and found the advanced guard of the French at Castel di Guido (twelve miles from Rome). Reinforcements had arrived from France which completed the army to about 15,000 men, including 1500 cavalry, 26 field-guns and 6 heavy siege-pieces. On the morning of the 10th the main body advanced from Palo to Castel di Guido, and it was the intention of General Oudinot to follow with the rear-guard on the 12th, and to assault the city with all his force without loss of time. I imagine also that he has signified to the King of Naples his intention of attacking on a certain day, so that without a combined operation, a simultaneous advance may take place.

12. M. Rayneval, the Minister of France at Naples, arrived at Palo to confer with General Oudinot on the 9th, and on the 10th, as I intended to proceed to Civita Vecchia, I conveyed him from Palo to that place.

13. On the evening of the 10th about 2000 more troops arrived at Civita

Vecchia in two steamers and a transport; they disembarked on the following morning and encamped outside the town.

14. The present position of the respective forces appears to be as follows:

The Romans are prepared to defend the city against all attacks, with a decided animosity against the Neapolitans, but with no ill-will towards the French. They have about 30,000 armed men in the city, and Garibaldi with about 6000 hovering about the right and rear of the Neapolitans (these numbers are uncertain).

The Neapolitan army at Albano and Velletri are in great fear of Garibaldi, and very anxious to join their forces with the French.

The Spaniards have landed 40 men at Terracina.

The French are now advancing with their whole force on Rome, which will consist, when all have joined the General, of about 14,000 men; about 2000 more are at Fiumicino, who will march up the left bank of the Tiber to make a diversion in that direction.

I think it is probable that the attack will take place about the 18th May, and as there are many parts of the walls where half-an-hour's cannonading would completely demolish them, the French will enter the town with ease; and although the streets and houses are well barricaded, but little resistance will be made when once they have obtained possession of one or two strong points in the town.

15. At Palo the French flag is hoisted alone on the castle; at Civita Vecchia it still floats on the same staff as the Italian tricolour. No attempt to replace the Pope's arms or to restore his authority has been yet shown by the French, and they do not appear to be in the slightest degree aware of the object they have in view in their present occupation of the Roman territory.

16. Three days after the occupation of Civita Vecchia a priest arrived from Gaeta to take on himself the Government of that place in the name of His Holiness the Pope; he was sent back to Gaeta.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. COOPER KEY.

No. 41.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Eddisbury.*

My Lord,

*Admiralty, May 27, 1849.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, the copy of a letter from Commander C. Key, of Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Bulldog," addressed to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, respecting the French expedition against Rome.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 41.

*Commander Key to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.*

*Matta, Head-Quarters of the French-Italian Army,  
May 17, 1849.*

Sir,

ON the 13th ultimo I left Civita Vecchia for Palo in Her Majesty's ship "Bulldog," to be in a position to obtain more certain information concerning the movements of the French army; I found the head-quarters had removed to Castel di Guido, and as nothing could be ascertained in Palo, I proceeded at once to the vicinity of the head-quarters.

The main body of the army, under General Regnault, the second in command, was then at Maglianella; a body of about 4000 were advancing up the right bank of the Tiber; and 2000 were detached to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the Ponte Molle (on the Florence road).

On the morning of the 15th, M. Lesseps, an Envoy from France, passed

through the camp on the way to Rome. At 9 A. M. the army advanced, and on that and the following day took up a position within about a league of the walls of Rome, the whole being formed in three brigades, as follows:

The 1st Brigade, under General Molière, on the right bank of the river, about three miles from Rome.

The 2nd Brigade, under General Le Vaillant, about one and a-half mile to the left of the 1st, and two miles from Rome, on the Via di Porta Portese.

The 3rd Brigade, under General ———, about three miles to the left of the 2nd, and two miles from Rome, just on the right side of the Civita Vecchia road.

The head-quarters at Corviale, about one and a-half mile in rear of the 2nd Brigade.

Each brigade consists of about 6000 men of all arms, with six pieces of artillery (four French 8-pounders and two 24-pounder howitzers), six 24-pounder siege-pieces are at Maglianella, waiting for horses from Civita Vecchia.

The reconnoitering party at Ponte Molle ascertained that one arch of the bridge is broken, and that 2000 troops from the provinces had passed and entered Rome a few hours before their arrival.

M. Lesseps has sent word from Rome, that there is but little chance of being able to effect a peaceable arrangement; they are, or appear to be, unanimous in their determination to resist, and are daily strengthening their defences.

General Oudinot, meanwhile, does not appear to be awaiting the result of M. Lesseps' mission.

He is causing a bridge to be constructed at Fiumicino, which when ready will be towed up the river by a small steamer and thrown across, about one and a-half mile below Rome; of this he is in hourly expectation, and also of two 84-pounders and four 32-pounders which are being disembarked from the steam squadron, and which the General intends to be worked up by a party of seamen to assist in breaching the walls.

It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty what is the General's plan of attack, although it is evident that he has fixed it in his own mind.

The weak part of the wall is on the east side, and there an entrance might be easily effected; but the General is anxious not to act or appear to act with the Neapolitans, who if they attack will do so on that side. It therefore appears probable that if hostilities are inevitable, the breach will be made between the Porta Portese and Porta San Pancrazio, on the west side; and a brigade crossing the river may attack near the Porta San Paolo.

The French army having continually received reinforcements from France consists now of nearly 20,000 men.

The line at present is very much extended, and a watchful and disciplined enemy within the walls might cut off and destroy the 3rd Brigade; but General Oudinot has confidence in the inexperience of the Romans, and wishes to deceive them regarding his intentions.

I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of the French soldiers towards the inhabitants of the country. Every article of food is strictly paid for, and their behaviour has engendered a very kindly feeling for them in the people with whom they have had intercourse.

I have been ever received with the greatest courtesy and attention by General Oudinot, who has shown a wish to give me every information concerning the detail of the French army, which appears to me to be admirable in every respect.

The Neapolitans remain at Albano.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. COOPER KEY.

P. S.—May 17, 6 P. M. An hour ago M. Lesseps arrived from Rome and brought information to the General Oudinot, of which the result was an armistice; and it is now announced that the Triumvirate have resigned and that Rome is to be delivered to the French.

## No. 42.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.*

Sir,

*Admiralty, May 28, 1849.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, a copy of a letter addressed by Commander Key, of Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Bulldog," to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, dated the 21st instant, reporting the proceedings of the French army near Rome.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 42.

*Commander Key to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.*

Sir,

*"Bulldog," Civita Vecchia, May 21, 1849.*

THE armistice which I mentioned in my letter of May 17, as having been established between the Romans and French troops, continued until midnight on Saturday, when a refusal having been sent from the Roman Assembly to the terms proposed by M. Lesseps, the armistice was denounced by General Oudinot and hostilities were nominally resumed, although negotiations still continued.

The outline of the proposal drawn up by M. Lesseps is as follows:

1. The Roman States claim the protection of the French Republic.
2. The Roman people have full right to decide on the form of their Government.

3. Rome will receive the French army as brothers.

The service of the city to be performed conjointly with the French troops. The Roman civil and military authorities will continue to perform their functions according to their attributes.

The following answer was given by the Committee appointed to treat with the French Envoy:

"The National Assembly regrets that it is not in its power to accept the proposed terms, and confides to the Triumvirate the duty of explaining the motives of the refusal, and also of taking such measures as may facilitate a better understanding between the two Republics."

These motives are not yet made public, but they are believed to be that the French insist on the exclusion of foreigners in having a voice in deciding on the form of Government.

Bologna having surrendered to the Austrians will probably influence the Romans in bringing the negotiations to an early close, according to the intention expressed in the answer of their Committee.

The French will no doubt have possession of Rome either by treaty or assault before the end of the week.

It is positively stated that the Neapolitan army, commanded by the King in person, has retired from Albano to Velletri.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) A. COOPER KEY.

## No. 43.

*Lord Eddisbury to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, May 28, 1849.*

I HAVE laid before Viscount Palmerston your letter of the 22nd instant, inclosing a copy of a despatch dated the 11th instant, from Commander Key of Her Majesty's ship "Bulldog," reporting his proceedings in the Roman States up to the 12th instant; and I am to request that you will state to the Lords

F

Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Viscount Palmerston considers that Comuander Key's exertions for the safety of British subjects and property, as reported in his despatch, were highly praiseworthy.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) EDDISBURY.

## No. 44.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 28.)*

(Extract.)

*Florence, May 19, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Bologna surrendered to the Austrians on the 16th instant, and I am happy to add that the town has received little injury, and great moderation has been shown by the troops on taking possession.

## No. 45.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 28.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, May 19, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that M. Lesseps, the French Commissary appointed by the French Government, arrived here on the 16th instant. M. Lesseps had not been three hours in Rome before he clearly ascertained that the French Government had been deceived by the representation made by the French and several other Diplomatic Agents, as to the spirit of the people, and the determination as well as the means of the garrison and people to make a formidable resistance. This, my Lord, corresponds with what I have had the honour so frequently to report to your Lordship.

I left my card on M. Lesseps as a complimentary attention only, but that gentleman requested to have a conference with me, to which I acceded, provided it was to be considered as personal and not official. This point agreed upon, I waited upon M. Lesseps, who requested me as an impartial witness of the real state of affairs, to communicate my observations to him. This I did, and the substance of my communication was, that I did not think the people in general were attached to a Republican form of Government, but that an immense majority were very averse to that of His Holiness Pius IX, who had called an intervention of Neapolitans and Austrians; therefore nothing but a powerful army can restore the Pope, and when that is accomplished, the occupation must be permanent, and at the expense of the invading army, as the financial resources of this country are exhausted.

M. Lesseps at once showed me a letter he had addressed to General Oudinot, recommending cessation of hostilities, which was agreed upon by General Oudinot. A few days of tranquillity has thereby been obtained. The Romans however had no sooner relieved themselves for a time of the French, than a spontaneous movement took place, and about 12,000 troops, 3000 volunteers, and 20 pieces of artillery, left Rome the same day to attack the Neapolitan army at Albano (sixteen miles from Rome) under the immediate command of the King of Naples. His Majesty embarked at Porto d'Anzio on board a steamer to Gaeta; and the Neapolitan troops, without waiting for the attack, retreated to Velletri, where they are followed by General Rosselli and General Garibaldi. Up to the morning of yesterday the Roman army had not taken up its position, but intelligence is hourly expected that a sanguinary conflict has taken place: more bitter enemies never met.

I have the honour to transmit herewith a note of the strength of the city prepared to oppose any attack. The strength, however, has been concentrated at the expense of Bologna, which was left without troops or artillery, and must have succumbed ere this to the attack of the Austrians. The intelligence from that city, of loss of life and property, has produced exasperation at Rome and in the provinces, and every exertion is making to march to its relief.



## Inclosure in No. 45.

*Note of the means of Defence in the City of Rome.*

1st Division, commanded by General Garibaldi, composed of troops well armed	-	-	-	-	3,400
2nd Division, commanded by General Galletti, as above	-	-	-	-	4,100
3rd Division, commanded by General Rosselli, as above	-	-	-	-	5,500
4th Division, commanded by Colonel Mezza Capa	-	-	-	-	3,600
Reserve, all troops	-	-	-	-	6,500
					<hr/> 23,100
Population, armed with double-barrelled guns	-	-	-	-	4,000
Ditto, with knives and pikes	-	-	-	-	40,000
National Guard, well armed	-	-	-	-	10,000
					<hr/> 77,100
Total	-	-	-	-	

N.B.—Forty field-pieces.

Of the above, 14,000 and 20 pieces of artillery have left Rome to attack the Neapolitan army, of about the same number.

Rome, May 19, 1849.

## No. 46.

*The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 31.)*

(Extract.)

Naples, May 20, 1849.

I HAVE just seen a letter from Rome of the 18th instant. On the 17th a suspension of hostilities was made known. On the 16th at 8 p.m., 12,000 Romans marched to attack the Neapolitans, who were supposed to be entrenched at Albano.

## No. 47.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received May 31.)*

(Extract.)

Rome, May 23, 1849.

IN my despatch dated the 19th instant I had the honour to report to your Lordship that a division of the Roman army had marched out to attack the Neapolitan army under the command of His Majesty, consisting of about 16,000 men, Swiss, Spaniards, and Neapolitans. His Majesty did not wait for the attack at Albano, but retreated upon Velletri, a strong position. The Roman army, consisting of about 12,000 men, most of them irregular troops, attacked the position with so much vigour and bravery for nine hours, that the Neapolitans considered it prudent to retreat during the night. This victory of the Romans has gained for them the respect of the French army, and consequently placed the Roman Government in a better position; and as the cessation of hostilities still continues, it is to be hoped that a pacific arrangement will take place. The greatest obstacle will be to overcome the spirit of the people, who, flushed with success, are ill-disposed to the occupation of the city by any foreign Power, and it may be admitted that the Government has the means of defending itself against a secondary Power.

The city is surrounded by an army of from 25,000 to 30,000 men with artillery, battering-guns, &c., sufficient in my opinion to occupy the city, but not without great loss of life and destruction of property. In justice to the French army, I must say that its conduct has been most exemplary.

Since writing the preceding I have been informed that the Neapolitans are collecting an army to attack General Garibaldi, from which it would appear that the former have not evacuated the Roman territory.

No. 48.

*The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.*—(Received June 1.)

(Extract.)

*Naples, May 24, 1849.*

THE semi-official journal, the "Tempo," announced yesterday that the King of Naples had returned to Gaeta, and the army had taken up a position on the extreme frontier of the kingdom, after having executed a brilliant retreat.

The reason given for this retreat is, that when the King, who had but a small force at his disposal, having waited in vain for the arrival of the Spanish force upon which he had reckoned, was assured that a truce had been concluded between the French and the Romans, he was obliged in consequence of the serious events which might ensue from the present state of things, to concentrate his forces upon his own frontier. It is stated, moreover, that this retreat was effected without the loss of a single prisoner or of any baggage.

It appears that after the Neapolitans had been driven from the position which they had occupied before Velletri on the 19th, they quitted that town at 3 o'clock on the morning of the 20th, and retreated with precipitation, pursued by a comparatively small Roman force who followed them to their frontier.

A private letter from Mola di Gaeta, of the 22nd, says that the King made his entry into Gaeta on Monday.

It must be remembered that the King undertook the expedition into the Roman States without any previous concert with the French, being desirous of replacing the Pope at Rome without conditions, and expecting to be received there without any serious opposition.

No. 49.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.*—(Received June 4.)

(Extract.)

*Rome, May 25, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to communicate to your Lordship that the Roman territories have been evacuated by the Neapolitan troops. General Garibaldi has received orders to remain with a division of the Roman army on the frontiers to watch the movements of the Neapolitan army, who marched forty-two miles in eleven hours, and thus saved its artillery.

General Rosselli, who commanded the Roman division, is expected with about 7000 men to return to the capital this evening; and preparations for defence of any attack from the Austrians are making with vigour and activity.

The army of General Oudinot surrounds the town.

M. Lesseps has left his residence in this city for the camp.

The city enjoys perfect tranquillity, although the citizens are suffering from requisitions of every description.

No. 50.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.*—(Received June 4.)

(Extract.)

*Florence, May 27, 1849.*

BARON D'ASPRE informed me that he was going to send 10,000 or 12,000 men to Foligno, and to occupy some points on the Roman frontier, particularly one which commands the road to Ancona, to which place an Austrian force has already proceeded.

## No. 51.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 6.)*

(Extract.)

*Florence, May 29, 1849.*

BARON D'ASPRE informs me that Ancona has been bombarded for two days by the Austrian forces, and is blockaded by the Austrian squadron.

## No. 52.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.*

Sir,

*Admiralty, June 8, 1849.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, a copy of a letter addressed by Commander Key, of Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Bulldog," to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, dated Civita Vecchia, the 1st instant, relative to the proceedings of the French army near Rome.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) J. PARKER.

*Inclosure in No. 52.*

*Commander Key to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.*

(Extract.)

*"Bulldog," Civita Vecchia, June 1, 1849.*

SINCE the date of my last letter no alteration has taken place in the position of the French army: negotiations have been continued by M. Lesseps, and hostile preparations apparently proceeded with by the General; but evidently no decided step was contemplated before the arrival of fresh instructions from Paris.

The policy of the Romans has not been so undecided. After various fruitless attempts on the part of the French Envoy to persuade the Romans to admit General Oudinot and his army within the gates of Rome, on the faith of the three Articles at first proposed, he consented (on the 24th ultimo) to add a fourth Article, to this effect: "The French Government guarantee to preserve the territory occupied by their army from foreign invasion." This met with no better success. The Triumvirate say that the only terms on which they will allow the French army to occupy Rome, are, "a full recognition of the Roman Republic, and a promise to assist in the defence of the Roman States." When this is ratified by the French Government, their gates will be opened. With reference to the second Article proposed by M. Lesseps, they state that the Roman people have already pronounced on their form of Government, and that the present form, the Republic, was unanimously selected by the inhabitants of the whole State, on an appeal being made to their unbiassed judgment.

The Romans are evidently aware that nothing decided will be attempted by the French until the opinion of the new National Assembly is ascertained; and they are so elated with the retreat of the King of Naples to his own dominions, which they imagine they caused, and to which they certainly did contribute, that their confidence in their own strength has passed all reasonable bounds.

The malaria fever has already made its appearance in the French army; and the season is now close at hand when their present position will be untenable. If therefore an immediate attack is not decided on, they will be compelled to retire to the Albano Hills—the only healthy spot in the neighbourhood, and then transfer the base of their operations to Porto d'Anzio. For this General Oudinot has already made a reconnoissance.

June 1, P. M.—A French steamer of war has just arrived from Toulon, bringing a telegraphic despatch from Paris for General Oudinot, of which I do not know the purport.

During my last visit to Rome on the 26th ultimo, I made every inquiry among people of all opinions and all classes, to ascertain if the reports concerning the destruction of the monuments and the sale of works of art had any foundation, and I could not discover that any instance of the kind had occurred.

The Austrian army is before Ancona, and is said to be on the point of attacking.

## No. 53.

*Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 11.)*

(Extract.)

*Vienna, June 5, 1849.*

IN the course of our conversation I learned from Prince Schwarzenberg that it was not intended that the Austrian troops should advance further towards Rome than Ancona. He said that that place was closely invested by land and by sea by the Austrian forces; and added in reply to my inquiry if they meant to move towards Rome, that with the capture of Ancona their mission was ended; "notre rôle est fini."

## No. 54.

*The Hon. R. Bingham to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 11.)*

My Lord,

*Turin, June 6, 1849.*

IT appears from telegraphic intelligence received this morning from Genoa, that the French had commenced the attack against Rome; that they had taken the Villa Pamfili and the Porta del Popolo; and that the Government were preparing to come to terms for a capitulation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RICH. BINGHAM.

## No. 55.

*The Hon. R. Bingham to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 12.)*

My Lord,

*Turin, June 7, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith an extract from a letter dated Civita Vecchia, the 4th instant, which has been communicated to me from a source upon which I can rely, and which confirms the telegraphic intelligence which I forwarded yesterday to your Lordship in my despatch of yesterday's date.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RICH. BINGHAM.

## Inclosure in No. 55.

*Extract from a Letter communicated to the Hon. R. Bingham.*

*Civita Vecchia, June 4, 1849.*

IT now seems that the French commenced hostilities against Rome at daylight yesterday, and that they have occupied all the positions which command the city, and that this was effected without severe loss on the part of the French in killed, but that they have had a great many of their men wounded; this is admitted by the French Admiral, who has had official reports of the affair. This morning 214 Roman prisoners (taken yesterday at the Villa Pamfili Doria), of whom seven officers and three women, arrived and were shipped immediately on board

of the "Vélocé," French steamer, which steamed away with them at 6 A. M. for Corsica. It is also stated that the French made a very strong assault at the Ripetta, but without success, and that the loss on both sides has been very great.

## No. 56.

*The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 12.)*

My Lord,

Naples, May 31, 1849.

A CORPS of Spanish troops consisting of between 5000 and 6000 men, have arrived at Gaeta, where they landed on the 27th instant, and are encamped in the vicinity of the town.

This force is under the command of Lieutenant-General Don Ferdinando Cordova, and consists of eight battalions of infantry, three batteries of artillery, a company of engineers, and a squadron of cavalry.

The squadron which conveyed these troops consists of six steamers, one frigate, two corvettes, and a small schooner, which are at present anchored in the harbour of Gaeta.

In addition to these troops 4000 men are said to be ready to embark for this country.

No plan of operations seems as yet to have been decided upon, and in the meantime the Neapolitan troops are stationed along the frontier, and the Spaniards remain encamped at Gaeta.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. TEMPLE.

## No. 57.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 12.)*

(Extract.)

Rome, June 2, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a printed document and translation of a Convention entered into between the Roman Government and M. de Lesseps, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, relative to a question that had long been agitated, as to the position to be occupied by the French army under the command of General Oudinot. This document had been made public early yesterday morning, and produced tranquillity and satisfaction on the minds of the people.

It appears, however, from a subsequent document herewith transmitted, that General Oudinot has refused to give his sanction to the Convention, and M. de Lesseps in consequence has left Rome and returned to France.

## Inclosure 1 in No. 57.

*Convention between the Roman Constituent Assembly and M. de Lesseps.*

I. L'APPOGGIO della Francia è assicurato alle popolazioni delli Stati Romani.

Esse considerano l'armata Francese come un armata amica che viene a concorrere alla difesa del loro territorio.

II. D'accordo col Governo Romano e senza immischiarsi affatto nell' amministrazione del paese, l'armata Francese prenderà gli accantonamenti esterni convenevoli tanto per la difesa del paese che per la salubrità delle truppe.

Le comunicazioni saranno libere.

III. La Repubblica Francese garantisce contro ogni invasione straniera il territorio occupato dalle sue truppe.

IV. Resta inteso che il presente accomodamento sarà sottomesso alla ratifica del Governo della Repubblica Francese.

V. In nessun caso gli effetti del presente accomodamento potranno cessare che 15 giorni dopo la comunicazione ufficiale della non ratifica.

Fatto a Roma e al quartiere-generale dell' armata Francese in triplo esemplare, il 31 Maggio, 1849, a 8 ore della sera.

Il Ministro della Repubblica Francese in Mission,  
(Firmato) FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.

ARMELLINI.  
SAFFI.  
MAZZINI.

(Translation.)

I. THE support of France is assured to the people of the Roman States.

They will consider the French army as a friendly army come to co-operate in the defence of their territory.

II. The French army, with the consent of the Roman Government, and without interfering at all in the administration of the country, will take up such cantonments out of the city (*externi*) as suit the defence of the country and the health of the troops.

Communications will be free.

III. The French Republic guarantees those parts of the territory occupied by its troops from all foreign invasion.

IV. It is understood that the present Treaty is to be submitted to the ratification of the Government of the French Republic.

V. In no case can the force of the present Convention cease until fifteen days after the official announcement of its non-ratification.

Done at Rome, and at the head-quarters of the French army, in triplicate, May 31, 1849, 8 o'clock P.M.

The Minister of the French Republic in Mission,  
(Signed) FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.

ARMELLINI.  
SAFFI.  
MAZZINI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 57.

*Appeal to the Romans by the Triumvirs.*

(Translation.)

Citizens,

Rome, June 1, 1849.

NOT only has General Oudinot refused to sanction the Convention entered into between us and the Envoy of France, but he declares the truce as broken, and that he is at liberty to assail the city.

We delay until to-morrow to give the particulars. Whatever may be the result, the Romans will do their duty, we ours. God and the people have given us once a victory against the man who menaces us; God and the people will gain another.

(Signed)

The Triumvirs,  
C. ARMELLINI.  
A. SAFFI.  
G. MAZZINI.

No. 58.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 12.)*

(Extract.)

Paris, June 11, 1849.

THE last news from Rome was that of the recommencement of the attack by the French army, and the success of its operations in all the positions outside the walls.

No. 59.

*Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.*

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, June 12, 1849*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 11th instant, from which it appears that the French army had renewed its hostile operations against Rome.

I have to state that Her Majesty's Government very much regret that a combination of circumstances should have rendered it necessary in the opinion of the French Government, to order the commander of their expedition to force an entrance into Rome; Her Majesty's Government hope, however, that it may turn out that the military occupation of that city will have been effected with a less effusion of blood, with a less loss of life, and with a less destruction of property, than many persons have anticipated as likely to be the result of a capture by assault.

Her Majesty's Government will, however, feel much interest in knowing what are the views of the French Government as to the course which they intend to pursue when their troops shall be in the occupation of Rome; and Her Majesty's Government conclude that the French Government continue to think, as they have hitherto done, that the reconciliation which it is their object to effect between the Pope and the Roman people, ought to be founded on the basis that the Pope should maintain substantially the Representative Constitution which he granted last year to his States, and that there should be a real and effectual separation between the temporal and spiritual power of the Pope as Sovereign of the Roman States.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 60.

*Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 13.)*

(Extract.)

*Vienna, June 8, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note dated the 7th instant, from Prince Schwarzenberg, notifying the blockade of Ancona by the naval forces of His Imperial Majesty. I have answered that note by a simple acknowledgment of its receipt, and by the assurance that I would lose no time in complying with its request to bring this measure to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government.

Inclosure in No. 60.

*Prince Schwarzenberg to Mr. Magenis.**Vienne, ce 7 Juin, 1849.*

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil, &c., a l'honneur de prévenir Mr. Magenis, &c., que le port d'Ancone a été mis en état de blocus effectif par les bâtimens de guerre de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique, et que ce blocus, vu les opérations offensives dirigées en même temps contre cette ville du côté de la terre, doit être considéré comme véritable siège.

Ce blocus n'ayant pour objet que de coopérer au rétablissement du pouvoir légitime dans les États de l'Eglise, il s'ensuit qu'il sera levé dès que ce but aura été atteint.

En priant Mr. Magenis de vouloir bien porter cette mesure à la connaissance de son Gouvernement, le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

SCHWARZENBERG.

(Translation.)

*Vienna, June 7, 1849.*

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to inform Mr. Magenis, &c., that the port of Ancona has been placed in a state of effective blockade by the ships of war of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, and that this blockade, considering the offensive operations carried on at the same time against the city on the land-side, must be looked upon as a real siege.

This blockade having no other object than that of co-operating in the re-establishment of the legitimate power in the States of the Church, it follows that it will be raised as soon as that object shall have been attained.

Requesting Mr. Magenis to have the goodness to bring this measure to the knowledge of his Government, the Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) SCHWARZENBERG.

No. 61.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 15.)*

(Extract.)

*Paris, June 14, 1849.*

THE French Government have this morning received news from Rome of the 8th instant, but only that the operations of the siege were proceeding regularly; and all those measures I know to have been taken by General Le Vaillant, the Commander of the Engineers there, with a view to ensure the capture of the city with the least possible loss of life or destruction of property.

No. 62.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 16.)*

My Lord,

*Paris, June 15, 1849.*

I THIS morning communicated to M. de Tocqueville your Lordship's despatch of the 12th instant, upon the affairs of Rome.

M. de Tocqueville completely adopted as their intended line of conduct the conclusions to which your Lordship had come as to the consequence of their entrance into Rome; that their first care would be to secure the constitutional liberties of the Romans as already granted by the Pope, and to take care that his authority should not be re-established on that arbitrary footing which had formerly been found inconsistent with the good government of the people.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 63.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 16.)*

(Extract.)

*Florence, June 8, 1849.*

ANCONA still holds out against the Austrian forces.

No. 64.

*Mr. Magenis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 18.)*

(Extract.)

*Vienna, June 9, 1849.*

THE French Chargé d'Affaires has been instructed by his Government to ask for explanation from the Imperial Cabinet as to their intention respecting Austrian intervention in the Papal States. These instructions were addressed



to M. de la Cour by M. Dronyn de Lhuys, the late Minister for Foreign Affairs in France.

Prince Schwarzenberg repeated to M. de la Cour the assurance which he gave me, as reported in my despatch of the 5th instant, that it was not the intention of the Austrian Government that their troops should go beyond Ancona.

No. 65.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 19.)*

(Extract.)

*Paris, June 18, 1849.*

I INQUIRED of M. de Tocqueville this morning the latest news from Rome. He said that up to the 13th, which was their latest date, the operations of the siege went on very regularly; that by the detailed report it appeared that there had not been a bomb thrown into the town, and they treated it with as much forbearance as they would a French town in the power of insurgents.

No. 66.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 19.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, June 8, 1849.*

WITH reference to my despatch dated the 2nd instant, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that General Oudinot on Sunday the 3rd instant, at 3 A.M., attacked the outposts of the Roman army, who, not expecting the attack before Monday, lost 230 prisoners, who were taken by surprise. This brought on a general engagement that lasted sixteen hours; the French, however, could not approach the walls of the town. About 800 men of the Roman army were put *hors de combat*, and the French must have lost a greater number, having been exposed for some hours to grape-shot from the walls. The Romans charged them with the bayonet several times with great bravery. The French have the advantage in the perfection of their arms and superior talent of their officers; the Romans, however, have established their reputation as staunch troops. Partial attacks have been daily continued up to the present hour with great loss on the part of the French. As far as I can judge from the information I have received I am of opinion that between wounded, killed and the malaria fever, at least 3000 men of the French army must have been placed *hors de combat*.

The Roman troops and the volunteers, with a large mass of the people, are preparing for a vigorous resistance, and I feel convinced that the city cannot be taken except at a great sacrifice of life.

The city must of course succumb, and probably in a few days, in which case I hope it may be by capitulation, and not by assault.

Very little damage has been done to the city by shells thrown into the town; but damage to a great extent has been done by order of the Military Roman Commission, in the destruction of houses, both outside and inside the town, to prevent approach to the barricades and batteries.

No. 67.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 27.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, June 16, 1849.*

IN my despatch dated the 8th instant I had the honour to report to your Lordship that the French army had suffered a serious check on the 3rd instant in attempting to approach the walls of this city.

Severe fighting has been continued ever since, with great loss on both sides. Several sallies have been made by the Romans, in which they have shown more

bravery than military skill, and their officers fall under the rifles of the French African sharpshooters; the Romans are unprovided with these arms. On the 12th instant General Oudinot sent in to the National Assembly and other Roman authorities a summons to surrender and to receive the French as friends of order and liberty. This document I beg leave to transmit herewith, by which your Lordship will perceive that that proposition was rejected.

In consequence of the refusal a regular attack upon the city was commenced the following morning with battering guns and bomb-shells, which continues up to the present moment with little occasional intermission.

The edifices that have suffered are the hospitals, churches and palaces, and the "Bourg" of Trastevere.

In the course of a few days part of the walls will be sufficiently battered to open a wide breach, when of course an effort will be made to take the city by assault.

**Inclosure in No. 67.**

*Summons of General Oudinot and Reply sent to him.*

**Repubblica Romana. In nome di Dio e del Popolo.**

Romani,

IL Generale Oudinot mandava jersera per un suo parlamentario l'unito indirizzo all'Assemblea Costituente Romana, al Triumvirato, al Generale in capo, e al Generale della Guardia Nazionale.

*Quartier Generale di Villa Panfilì, li 12 Giugno, 1849,  
5 ore pomeridiane.*

Signor Generale,

Gli eventi della guerra hanno, come lei sa, condotta l'Armata Francese alle porte di Roma.

Nel caso che l'ingresso della città continuasse ad esserci chiuso, mi vedrei costretto d'impiegare immediatamente tutti i mezzi di azione che la Francia ha posti nelle mie mani.

Prima di ricorrere a cotal terribile necessità, tengo a dovere di fare un ultimo appello ad un Popolo che non puole avere verso la Francia i sentimenti d'un Popolo nemico.

L'armata Romana vorrà, non v'è dubbio, al pari di me, risparmiare sanguinose rovine alla Capitale del mondo Cristiano.

Con questa convinzione, la prego, Signor Generale, di dare all' incluso Proclama la più pronta pubblicità.

Se dodici ore dopo che gli sarà consegnato questo dispaccio, una risposta corrispondente alle intenzioni ed all'onore della Francia, non mi è pervenuta, mi vedrò costretto di dare alla Piazza l'attacco di forza.

Gradisca, Signor Generale, la sicurezza de' miei distintissimi sentimenti.

Il Generale Comandante in capo l'Armata Francese del  
Mediterraneo, Rappresentante del Popolo.

(Firmato) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

Al Signor Generale Comandante in capo l'Armata Romana, Roma.

*Dal Quartier Generale di Villa Panfilì, li 12 Giugno, 1849.  
5 ore pomeridiane.*

Abitanti di Roma!

Non venivamo per recarvi la Guerra. Siamo venuti ad appoggiare fra voi l'ordine, colla Libertà. Le intenzioni del nostro Governo sono state mal conosciute.

I lavori dell' assedio ci hanno condotti sotto alle vostre mura.

Fin' adesso, non abbiamo voluto rispondere che di lungi in lungi, al fuoco delle vostre batterie. Ci avviciniamo all' ultimo istante ove le necessità della guerra scoppiano in terribili calamità.

Risparmiatele ad una città ripiena di tante gloriose memorie.

Se persistete a respingerci, a voi soli incomberà la responsabilità d'irreparabili disastri.

Il Generale in capo, Rappresentante del Popolo,  
(Firmato) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

Al Signor Generale comandante l'Armata Romana, Roma.

A tali intimazioni, ecco come risposero i corpi costituiti ai quali furono indirizzate.

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*Risposta dell'Assemblea Costituente Romana.*

Generale,

L'Assemblea Costituente Romana vi fa sapere, in risposta al vostro dispaccio di ieri, che avendo conchiuso una Convenzione dal 31 Maggio, 1849, in poi col Signor de Lesseps, Ministro Plenipotenziario della Repubblica Francese, Convenzione che egli confermò anche dopo la vostra dichiarazione, essa deve considerarla come obbligatoria per le due parti, e posta sotto la salvaguardia del diritto delle genti fino a che sia ratificata o respinta dal Governo Francese. Egli è perciò che l'Assemblea deve riguardare come una violazione di questa Convenzione ogni ostilità ripresa dal detto giorno in poi dall'armata Francese, ed ogni altra ostilità che si vorrà riprendere prima che le si comunichi la risoluzione del vostro Governo su questo proposito, e prima che sia spirato il termine pattuito nell'armistizio.

Voi domandavate, Generale, una risposta analoga alle intenzioni ed all'onore della Francia. Ma nulla vi ha di più conforme alle intenzioni ed all'onore della Francia quanto la cessazione d'una violazione flagrante del diritto delle genti.

Quali siano per essere gli effetti di una tale violazione, il popolo Romano non può esserne responsabile. Egli è forte del proprio diritto; è deciso a mantenere le Convenzioni che l'attaccano alla vostra nazione; si trova soltanto costretto dalla necessità della propria difesa a respingere ogni ingiusta aggressione.

Gradite, Generale, i sentimenti della mia alta stima e considerazione.

Roma, dalla sala dell'Assemblea Costituente, 13 Giugno, 1849, a due ore del mattino.

(Firmato) I Presidente, GALLETTI.  
I Segretari, A. FABRETTI.  
G. PENNACHI.  
G. COCCI.

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*Il Generale Comandante della Guardia Nazionale Romana rispose.*

Signor Generale,

Il Trattato, del quale si attende ratifica, assicura questa tranquilla città da ogni disastro.

La Guardia Nazionale destinata a mantenere l'ordine ha il dovere di secondare le risoluzioni del Governo, ed a questo dovere adempie volenterosa e zelante senza curare disagio o fatica.

La Guardia Nazionale ha mostrato non ha guari nell'accompagnamento de' prigionieri le sue simpatie per la Francia, ma ha pure mostrato in ogni incontro che sopra tutto le è a cuore la propria dignità, l'onore di Roma.

Ogni infortunio alla Capitale del mondo Cattolico, alla città Monumentale non potrebbe mai attribuirsi ai pacifici cittadini costretti a difendersi, ma solamente a chi ne avesse provocata l'aggressione.

Gradite Signor Generale la mia distinta considerazione.

Roma, 13 Giugno, 1849, ore 3 antimeridiane.

(Firmato) STURBINETTI, Generale della Nazionale,  
Rappresentante del Popolo.

Signor Oudinot di Reggio, Comandante in capo  
l'Armata spedizione nel Mediterraneo.

ALL'ONORE DEL  
MIO DUTTORE

*Il Generale in Capo dell' Armata della Repubblica Romana.*

Cittadino Generale,

Una fatalità induce ora a combattere fra loro le armate di due nazioni Repubblicane che destini migliori le avrebbero invece unite a combattere i loro nemici comuni; giacchè i nemici dell' una non possono non esser nemici ancora dell' altra.

Noi non c'illudiamo; e perciò ci opporremo con tutt' i mezzi possibili a chiunque abbatte le nostre istituzioni. D'altronde non sono che i bravi quelli che sono degni di stare a petto dei soldati Francesi.

Riflettendo poi che v' è uno stato di vita pegl' uomini peggiore che morte; se la guerra che si fate arrivasse a porci in questo stato, meglio sarà chiuder per sempre gli occhi alla luce, che vedere le interminabile oppressioni e miserie della nostra patria.

Vi desidero salute ed auguro fratellanza.

Roma, li 13 Giugno, 1849.

(Firmato)

ROSELLI.

Al Cittadino Generale in capo dell' Armata Francese.

*Il Triumvirato rispose.*

Generale,

Abbiamo l'onore di trasmettervi la risposta dell' Assemblée alla vostra comunicazione del 12.

NOI non tradiamo mai le nostre promesse. Abbiamo promesso difendere, in esecuzione degli ordini dell' Assemblée e del Popolo Romano, la bandiera della Repubblica, l'onore del paese, e la santità della Capitale del mondo Cristiano. E manterremo la nostra promessa.

Gradite, Generale, l'assicurazione della nostra distinta considerazione.

Roma, 13 Giugno, 3 del mattino.

I Triumviri,

(Firmato)

CARLO ARPELLINI.  
GIUSEPPE MAZZINI.  
AURELIO SAFFI.

Queste sono le risposte degli eletti del popolo. Il popolo darà coi fatti la sua. Viva la Repubblica! Viva l'Italia!

Roma, 13 Giugno, 1849.

I Triumviri,

(Firmato)

CARLO ARPELLINI.  
GIUSEPPE MAZZINI.  
AURELIO SAFFI.

(Translation.)

Republic of Rome. In the name of God and the People.

Romans,

GENERAL OUDINOT sent the inclosed yesterday evening by a flag of truce, addressed to the Roman Constituent Assembly, to the Triumvirate, to the General-in-chief, and to the General of the National Guard.

*Head-Quarters, Villa Panfilii,  
June 12, 1849, 5 o'clock P.M.*

General,

The events of the war as you know have led the French army to the gates of Rome.

If the entrance to the city remain closed, I shall find myself compelled to employ immediately all the means of action which France has placed in my hands.

Previous to having recourse to such a dreadful necessity, I consider it my duty to make a last appeal to a people who cannot have towards France the feelings of a hostile people.

The Roman army will doubtless desire as much as I do to save the capital of the Christian world from sanguinary destruction.

With this conviction I will request you, General, to give the earliest publicity to the inclosed proclamation.

If within twelve hours after this despatch is delivered to you I do not receive a reply in correspondence with the intentions and honour of France, I shall feel myself compelled to attack the place.

Accept, &c.

The General, Commander-in-chief of the French Army of the  
Mediterranean, Representative of the People,

(Signed) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

To the General Commander-in-chief of the Roman Army, Rome.

*Head-Quarters, Villa Panfili,*

*June 12, 1849, 5 o'clock p.m.*

Inhabitants of Rome,

WE are not come to bring you war. We are come to support order with liberty amongst you. The intentions of our Government have been misunderstood.

The works of the siege have brought us to your walls.

Hitherto we have been unwilling to respond to the fire of your batteries, but at long intervals. We are approaching the last moment in which the necessities of war burst forth into terrible disasters.

Do not bring them upon a city full of so many glorious recollections.

If you persist in opposing us, on you alone will remain the responsibility of irreparable evils.

The General-in-chief, Representative of the People,

(Signed) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

To the General in command of the Roman Army, Rome.

To these intimations the following replies were made by the constituted bodies to whom they were addressed:

*Reply of the Roman Constituent Assembly.*

General,

THE Roman Constituent Assembly informs you, in reply to your despatch of yesterday, that having concluded a Convention on the 31st May, 1849, with M. Lesseps, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic—a Convention confirmed by him even after your declaration,—it must be considered as binding on both parties and placed under the safeguard of the right of nations, until it be ratified or rejected by the French Government. The Assembly must therefore regard as a violation of this Convention all hostility resumed from that day forwards by the French army, and all other hostility which it may be desired to resume before the resolution of your Government be communicated to it with reference to this subject, and before the expiration of the term stipulated in the Armistice.

You demanded, General, a reply in correspondence with the intentions and honour of France. There is nothing more conformable to the intentions and honour of France than the cessation of a flagrant violation of the rights of nations.

Whatever may be the results of such violation, the Roman people cannot be responsible. It is strong in its own right; it is determined to maintain the

treaties which bind it to your nation ; it feels itself simply compelled by the necessity of self-defence to repulse every unjust aggression.

Accept, &c.

Rome, from the Hall of the Constituent Assembly, June 13, 1849,  
2 o'clock A.M.

(Signed) GALLETTI, President.  
A. FABRETTI,  
G. PENNACCHI,  
G. COCCHI, Secretaries.

*Reply of the General Commanding the Roman National Guard.*

General,

THE Treaty whose ratification is expected secures this tranquil city from every disaster.

The National Guard intended to maintain order is intrusted with the duty of seconding the resolutions of Government ; and it fulfils this duty willingly and with zeal, without fearing trouble or fatigue.

The National Guard has recently shown its sympathies for France in the case of prisoners, but it has also shown on every occasion that it prizes above every consideration its own dignity and the honour of Rome.

Every calamity to the capital of the Catholic world, to the city of monuments, must be attributed not to the peaceful citizens compelled to defend themselves, but solely to the party who brought on the aggression.

Accept, &c.

Rome, June 13, 3 o'clock P.M.

(Signed) STURBINETTI,  
General of the National Guard, Representative of the People.  
M. Oudinot de Reggio, Commander-in-chief of the  
Armed Expedition to the Mediterranean.

*Reply of the General-in-chief of the Army of the Roman Republic.*

Citizen General,

A FATALITY now leads the armies of two Republican nations to fight against each other, whom a better fate would have rather united to fight against their common enemies, for the enemies of the one could not but be the enemies of the other.

We do not deceive ourselves ; and therefore we will oppose with every possible means all who would destroy our institutions. Moreover, it is only brave men who are worthy of fighting against the soldiers of France.

And when we consider that there is a condition of life far worse than death, if the war which you bring upon us should tend to place us in such a condition, it would be better to close our eyes to the light for ever, than to see the endless oppression and misery of our country.

I wish you health and fraternity.

Rome, June 13, 1849.

(Signed) ROSELLI.

To the Citizen General in chief of the French Army.

*Reply of the Triumvirate.*

General,

WE have the honour to forward to you the reply of the Assembly to your communication of the 12th.

We never betray our promises. We have promised, in fulfilment of the orders of the Assembly and of the Roman people, to defend the honour of the

Republic, the honour of the country, and the holiness of the capital of the Christian world; and we will maintain our promise.

Accept, &c.

Rome, June 13, 3 o'clock A.M.

The Triumvirs,  
(Signed) CARLO ARMELLINI.  
GIUSEPPE MAZZINI.  
AURELIO SAFFI.

These are the replies of those whom the people has chosen. The people will reply by its deeds. Long live the Republic! Long live Italy!

Rome, June 13, 1849.

The Triumvirs,  
(Signed) CARLO ARMELLINI.  
GIUSEPPE MAZZINI.  
AURELIO SAFFI.

No. 68.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 21.)*

My Lord,

*Florence, June 13, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship copy of a letter which I have received from Her Majesty's Consul at Ancona, who, at the request of General Count de Wimpffen, commander of the Austrian forces, has been employed in a negotiation with the Governor of Ancona for the surrender of that town, in order to avoid the horrors to which it may be exposed if taken by assault. Although Mr. Moore has been extremely active in his endeavours to bring about a capitulation, he has not hitherto been successful, but from the tenour of his letter received to-day, more sanguine hopes may be entertained as to the result.

Mr. Moore speaks in high commendation of the conduct of Commander Vansittart of Her Majesty's ship "Frolic," whose exertions are indefatigable in accommodating and receiving on board English and foreigners who have sought refuge under the British flag.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 68.

*Consul Moore to Sir George Hamilton.*

Sir,

*Ancona, Casino Bansa, June 10, 1849.*

YESTERDAY at 5 P.M. the Austrians opened a heavy fire against the Italian batteries, and I understand to-morrow the strongest attack will be made, when it is expected all the Austrian heavy artillery will be in position.

I do not know the effect produced by yesterday's fire, as I am writing at 5 A.M., and I must take this letter at once to the Austrian head-quarters, where I will add a postscript if there be anything new. However I received a letter yesterday from the Governor of Ancona, previous to the fire, in which I trace symptoms of a capitulation. He finishes a paragraph thus: "As far as it is allowed by my duties towards the Roman Republic, and by the principles which I conscientiously profess, I shall take advantage of the generous offers which you make in favour of this city and of its inhabitants."

It would be a matter of great congratulation to me if I could prevent further bloodshed and destruction. Should we hear of the fall of Rome, I trust Ancona would then surrender.

The two remaining relatives of the Pope left in Ancona, I succeeded in getting out of town yesterday, as a pressing express from Gaeta on the subject reached Marshal de Wimpffen yesterday.

I must bear my testimony to the activity displayed on this occasion (as on all others) by Commander Vansittart, of Her Majesty's sloop "Frolic," whose

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exertions are indefatigable and beyond praise. The very great inconvenience that himself and officers have subjected themselves to in accommodating on board those English and foreigners who have sought refuge there, deserves great commendation.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) GEO. MOORE.

No. 69.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 27.)*

(Extract.) Florence, June 20, 1849.

I FORWARD to your Lordship the accompanying letter from Her Majesty's Consul at Ancona which has just reached me.

Inclosure in No. 69.

*Consul Moore to Sir George Hamilton.*

(Extract.) "Frolic," off Ancona, June 15, 1849.

ON the 12th instant the French war-steamer "Pluton" arrived from Venice and Trieste. She is still here.

On this same day there was a smart engagement between the Austrian Rifles and the Italians in the outworks of the lunette. Many must have fallen on both sides, but the high wheat prevented us seeing the casualties. Neither party will acknowledge its losses. It is generally supposed the Austrians have 1000 men *hors de combat*; perhaps 600 would be nearer the mark; I mean altogether since the commencement.

The resistance in town is becoming most determined, and they declare that should the town be taken, the troops will retire to the citadel. Many buildings in town have suffered much. I regret to say several Austrian shells have reached the hospital, and one sick man was carried, bed and all, to the foundations of the building, where the body remains buried.

On the 13th two envoys were sent from town through Commander Vansittart to remonstrate with the Marshal. The sick and mad have been all removed from the Hospital to the Town Hall.

This morning I went to reconnoitre some English property situated in the midst of the two fires, when I was driven back with only half my mission accomplished.

The prolongation of this siege is a sad evil both for town and country; and to communicate with my ships I am obliged to pass daily one quarter of a mile, both ways, exposed to shot and shell.

16th.—Yesterday evening and during the night the Austrians poured into the citadel and town a quantity of shell and rockets.

I just hear a brisk fire of musketry. Marshal Wimpffen informs me the Austrians have taken Urbino, after some resistance from Pansicani's corps.

No. 70.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 29.)*

My Lord, Florence, June 21, 1849.

I HAVE just been informed by Field-Marshal Baron d'Aspre that the town of Ancona has capitulated.

The Imperial troops are to occupy the fortress, the gates of the town, and all military points; and the Roman troops of the line and the National Guards are to be disarmed.

A general amnesty has been granted for political offences.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.



## No. 71.

*The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 29.)*

(Extract.)

*Naples, June 14, 1849.*

THE Spanish corps which lately landed at Gaeta, and is destined to assist in the restoration of the Pope, having received from the Neapolitan Government a supply of mules for its artillery and of horses to mount its staff, has proceeded to Terracina, where it is now quartered; and a ship has also been sent to Terracina from Naples with a supply of provisions, from the want of which the Spanish troops had suffered much inconvenience on their first arrival there.

A part of the Neapolitan army has also advanced from the frontier to Frosinone. General Nunziante, accompanied by a Spanish officer, has lately visited General Oudinot.

I understand that General Oudinot has always expressed his intention of acting separately, as France does not agree with the other Catholic Powers upon the principle of their intervention; he therefore objects to any other troops joining him in the attack upon Rome; but he by no means wishes to prevent the occupation by them of the Roman territory. It is presumed, therefore, that if the Neapolitan and Spanish troops advance, it will be in the direction of the eastern side of Rome, and that they will place themselves in communication with the Austrian, rather than with the French forces.

The latest accounts from Civita Vecchia are of the 12th instant, and state that the French had established their breaching batteries within 150 yards of the walls to the south of Porta San Pancrazio, and were to commence their attack on the 14th instant.

M. de Courcelles and M. de la Tour d'Auvergne had arrived from France and were gone to the camp; and it was said that the former was the bearer of an ultimatum to be proposed to the Romans.

The French had been throwing shells into the town since the 5th, destroying chiefly the houses of the Trasteverini. The Government had however taken measures to lodge the women and children whose houses had been destroyed, in the palaces of those who had left Rome, taking care, however, to lock up the rooms containing the pictures and other valuable property.

By the last accounts, Ancona still held out.

## No. 72.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.*

Sir,

*Admiralty, June 29, 1849.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, a copy of a letter addressed by Commander Key, of Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Bulldog," to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, dated Civita Vecchia, the 21st instant, relative to proceedings of the French before Rome.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) J. PARKER.

*Inclosure in No. 72.*

*Commander Key to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.*

Sir,

*"Bulldog," Civita Vecchia, June 21, 1849.*

THE French army have continued their siege operations under the walls of Rome without intermission since my last letter.

On the 12th three batteries were in position in the second parallel, directed against the salient angle of the walls, to the right of Porta Pancrazio, at the distance of about 130 yards each, consisting of four 16-pounders and two 24-pounders,

with three 8-inch mortars in the rear of the right battery. General Oudinot then wrote a final address to the Romans, calling on them to save Rome from destruction, by admitting his army within the city. They refused. On the morning of the 13th he opened fire on the walls, and by the 16th had succeeded in destroying the upper part of them, to about one-fourth from the top, when they found that their guns would not damage them below that, owing to some rising ground intervening. It was therefore determined to continue their works and construct a third parallel, in which to place a battery within fifty yards of the walls; this was completed on the 20th, twelve guns being in position. The Romans keep up a constant fire on the trenches of shot and shell, not causing a severe loss, but sufficient to retard the works and harass the French soldiers unceasingly. On the 15th the Romans made a sortie with 200 men, for the purpose of regaining possession of Ponte Molle; they were driven back by 700 men, leaving 50 or 60 dead.

The French have cut off the water that enters Rome by aqueducts on the north and west side, to deprive the inhabitants of the use of the mills that are worked by it.

They have destroyed the Ponte Salara across the Arno, and endeavour to prevent provisions from entering the town; this they can hardly effect, as the south side, towards Tivoli and Albano, is entirely open.

The fever caused by the malaria is not on the increase; indeed I believe the health of the troops is improving, but the fatal season is close at hand.

Reinforcements from France have completed the army to 30,000 men, with thirty heavy siege-guns and forty pieces of field artillery.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. C. KEY.

#### No. 73.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.*—(Received June 30.)

(Extract.)

*Florence, June 22, 1849.*

I HAVE received a letter this morning from Her Majesty's Consul at Ancona, in which he informs me that he was the only mediator between the Austrian General and the Municipality of Ancona, on the occasion of the capitulation, which after many difficulties took place at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 19th instant.

#### No. 74.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.*—(Received July 3.)

(Extract.)

*Paris, July 2, 1849.*

M. DE TOCQUEVILLE communicated to me this morning a copy of a despatch he had received from M. de Courcelles.

M. de Courcelles states that the difficulty which the French army has experienced in bringing the capture of Rome to a speedy conclusion, has entirely arisen from their determination to abstain, if possible, from any mode of attack which should put in peril the lives of peaceable inhabitants, or lead to the destruction of monuments and works of art.

M. de Tocqueville mentioned to me that General Bedeau had left Paris yesterday for the army before Rome.

## No. 75.

*Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.*

(Extract.)

*Foreign Office, July 3, 1849.*

MUCH allowance is necessarily to be made for the feelings of national pride which impel the French Government, after repeated checks, to aim at military success in their operations against Rome; but it is to be hoped that they will not push those operations further than may be necessary for the assertion of their military superiority, and that those operations will be conducted in the manner likely to keep within the narrowest bounds effusion of blood, loss of life, and destruction of property and injury to works of art.

With regard to the intentions of the French Government as to the course which they mean to pursue when they are in possession of the city, Her Majesty's Government are glad to find that your Excellency has been formally assured that those intentions are the same as the views originally explained by the French Government before their expedition sailed for Civita Vecchia.

But difficulties of an opposite kind will have to be encountered in carrying those views into effect. On the one hand, the Pope, misguided by the persons who now surround him, declares that he will not return to Rome shackled by any conditions, and that he will not be restrained in his sovereign power by any Constitutional institutions; on the other hand, the Romans, both of the city and of the provinces, having once got free from the oppressions of Priestly government, announce their determination never again to submit to the yoke which has so long pressed upon them; and it seems but reasonable to suppose that even if the former order of things could be re-established in the Roman States by overruling military force, the people would continue to submit to it only as long as that overruling force continued to be present, and that upon the retirement of such force another outbreak would take place.

Considerations, therefore, of sound policy as connected with the future tranquillity of Italy, as well as a regard for justice, should lead foreign Powers to wish that the Pope might be brought to acquiesce in an arrangement which, while it reinstated him in his position of temporal and ecclesiastical authority at Rome, should give to his subjects for their civil and political rights, those guarantees which nothing but a Representative Constitution could afford. But for that purpose those influences which now urge him to aim at a different end must be controuled or be exerted in a different direction.

Among the influences which now guide the Pope, that of Austria must be supposed to be the chief, because it is probably upon Austria that the Pope principally reckons for military assistance to reinstate him at Rome, and it would seem therefore that it would be desirable for the French Government to enter into communication with the Government of Austria with a view of inducing that Government to counsel the Pope to consent to secure to his subjects such an arrangement as that which I have described. And in the meantime instructions will be sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna to recommend strongly to the Austrian Government to give such advice at Gaeta.

If the Pope should be brought to agree to such terms, and if the Romans should consent to receive him back upon such conditions, the detailed execution of such an arrangement would require indeed to be vigilantly watched by the mediating Powers, in order that there might be no want of good faith in carrying it out; but the European embarrassment would be at an end as soon as such an agreement between the Pope and his subjects had been come to.

But in a matter so difficult and at the same time so important, failure as well as success must be provided for; and Her Majesty's Government, therefore, are desirous of knowing what are the views of the French Government as to the course which they contemplate pursuing in the event of such an arrangement as that above mentioned being refused either by the Pope or by the Romans, or by both. It is evident that either of these three contingencies would create a state of things pregnant with results of general and European importance; and Her Majesty's Government would be glad to be informed what are the views which the French Government have formed to themselves thereupon. Her Majesty's Government are not at present in a condition to express any formed opinion on these matters,

beyond observing that a prolonged occupation of the city or territory of Rome by the troops of any foreign Power would be, with regard both to its principle and its consequences, a thing much to be deprecated and greatly to be avoided.

## No. 76.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 4.)*

(Extract.)

*Paris, July 3, 1849.*

THE conduct of the expedition may, the French Government admit, have naturally varied according to the force of unforeseen circumstances, but the French Government have neither now nor at any former period had any separate interest to secure. Whatever difference of opinion there may have existed between Her Majesty's Government and that of the Republic as to the best means of effecting a common object, they only desire such a solution of the Roman question as has been counselled at various periods and to different parties by Her Majesty's Government, namely, the restoration of the Government of the Pope with Constitutional guarantees.

As the misrepresentations of these views and their conduct seem to the French Government to assume almost every day a new shape, they have thought it desirable that Her Majesty's Ministers should have daily access to the most complete information as to every stage of an affair in which they have nothing to conceal, and with such intention they have been glad to combine the appointment as Ambassador to London of a person who has occupied so distinguished a post as M. Drouyn de Lhuys in the councils of the Republic.

## No. 77.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 4.)*

My Lord,

*Paris, July 3, 1849.*

SINCE writing my other despatch of this day's date I have been down to the Assembly, where a telegraphic despatch had just been read, which had arrived this afternoon from M. de Courcelles, of the date of the 1st instant, from Civita Vecchia, to the effect that the Constituent Assembly had required the Triumvirs to propose a capitulation, and that the Municipality were at that moment at the camp of General Oudinot, empowered to treat as to the conditions.

The Decree of the Constituent Assembly was of the 30th of June. The despatch was of the 1st instant from Civita Vecchia, where M. de Courcelles had gone to meet M. d'Harcourt and M. de Rayneval.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

## No. 78.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 4.)*

My Lord,

*Rome, June 23, 1849, 3 P.M.*

I HAD the honour to address a despatch to your Lordship on the 16th instant, in which I reported to your Lordship that the bombardment of this city had commenced on the 13th instant, which system of attack continues.

On the 21st, the gates of Portese, St. Pancrazio, Cavallegieri, and Popolo, were simultaneously attacked, and attempts were made to mount the breach between Porta Portese and Porta St. Pancrazio; these attempts, however, had more the appearance of a reconnaissance to cover the real intention, which was that of throwing in about 400 men into a strong position called "Villa Barberini;" in this they succeeded. At 4 A.M. on the 22nd, the drums beat, calling together the National Guard for the object of keeping order in the

city when the troops and people defended the walls. At 10 A.M. the bells of the city sounded the alarm, and the people rushed to the walls, but the French did not continue the attack. During this period of great anxiety, order was kept in the town, although the streets were open to any attempt on the part of the reactionists, if they actually existed, to any extent.

On the 23rd, during the whole of the day balls have been thrown into the town, whilst the skirmishing continues on the walls. During the preceding night about 300 shells and rockets have been thrown into the town, causing the death of several persons, and producing considerable damage to houses, palaces, and churches. Trastevere has suffered the most.

This morning the Secretary of the Commission of Finances called upon me, when I took advantage of the occasion to give him a copy of my letter dated the 29th of April, in which, in the name of the foreign Consuls I offered our services to the Municipality, if they would be rendered useful in saving the city from the horrors of an assault or the consequences of a continued bombardment. In short I told this gentleman to communicate to the Municipality that I was ready to do anything in my power, provided it would not compromise the neutrality of Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

# No. 79.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.*

Sir,

*Admiralty, July 9, 1849.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, a copy of a letter dated the 2nd July, from Commander Key of Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Bulldog," relating to the state of affairs at Rome.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) J. PARKER.

# Inclosure in No. 79.

*Commander Key to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.*

Sir,

*"Bulldog," Civita Vecchia, July 2, 1849.*

SINCE the French obtained possession of the breach as I mentioned in a private letter to you of June 22nd, they have been occupied in strengthening and arming the work which they had constructed inside it. The Romans kept up such a constant and well-directed fire from the batteries which commanded this work, that General Oudinot deemed it advisable to dislodge them by artillery before attempting to advance.

On the 28th he opened fire on them from thirty-five pieces which he had established at the breach; by the evening of the 29th he had effectually silenced the Roman guns, and on the following morning advanced on and carried at the point of bayonet a bastion on his left, from which he had received most annoyance. After killing 250 of the Romans, making 130 prisoners, and spiking 13 guns, the French retired to their original position at the breach, not deeming it advisable to hold the bastion, as it was commanded by many points in possession of the Romans.

On the evening of the same day (June 30th) the National Assembly in Rome came to the following resolution:

"In the name of God and the people. The Constituent Assembly declare that further resistance is impossible. The Assembly will sit in permanence. The Triumvirate is charged with the execution of the present decree."

This was sent to General Oudinot with a request for a suspension of hostilities, and at the same time a deputation of the municipality of the city arrived at the head-quarters of the French army.

It is the universal belief that Rome will be entered peaceably without delay.

M. Courcelles, the successor to M. Lesseps, who has been waiting at Civita Vecchia until his powers might be called into action, has gone to the headquarters under the walls of Rome.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. COOPER KEY.

## No. 80.

*Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.*

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, July 10, 1849.*

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency, for your information, a copy of a despatch\* which I have received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, on the present state of affairs at Rome. I likewise inclose a copy of an instruction† which I have addressed to the Marquis of Normanby in reply, expressing the opinion that it would be desirable for the French Government to enter into communication with the Government of Austria with a view of inducing that Government to counsel the Pope to secure to his subjects an arrangement which, while it reinstated him in his position of temporal and ecclesiastical authority at Rome, should give to those subjects for their civil and political rights, those guarantees which nothing but a Representative Constitution could afford. Your Excellency will take every fitting opportunity strongly to recommend to the Austrian Government to give such advice at Gacta.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

## No. 81.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 10.)*

(Extract.)

*Paris, July 9, 1849.*

A TELEGRAPHIC message, of the date of the 5th of July, from Rome, announces the occupation of the city by the French troops, to whom the Castle of St. Angelo had been given up.

The nomination of General Rostolan as Governor, and of General Sauvan as "Commandant de la Place," are reported, but no mention is made of the terms of the capitulation, or whether the Constituent Assembly still continue their functions.

## No. 82.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 10.)*

(Extract.)

*Paris, July 9, 1849.*

THE French Government have heard with much satisfaction the communication which your Lordship states yourself to have made to the Austrian Government upon the advice which it would be so desirable should be given from Vienna as to the conduct of the Pope at the present crisis.

## No. 83.

*Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.*

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, July 13, 1849.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 10th instant, transmitting a copy of an instruction which I had addressed to the Marquis of Normanby on the affairs of Rome, I have to instruct you to request the serious attention of the

\* No. 74.

† No. 75.

Austrian Cabinet to those affairs. It seems to Her Majesty's Government, from the information which has reached them from various sources, that while on the one hand the great majority of the people of the Roman States feel an invincible repugnance to submit themselves again to Priestly government, they would, on the other hand, have no insurmountable objection to receive the Pope as their temporal Sovereign, provided they were secured in their civil and political interests by such a Representative Constitution as that which the Pope gave to his subjects last year. But if the Pope takes his stand upon the grounds laid down in his Allocution of the 20th of April, and refuses to maintain the Constitution, and objects to a separation of the temporal administration of the State from the spiritual authority of the Church, it is evident that one of two things must happen, either that the Pope must be restored to his former power in Rome by the force of foreign arms, or that he must abandon all hope of returning thither.

A restoration of the Pope to his former unlimited authority by the force of foreign arms, setting aside the injustice of such a measure in point of principle, could only be looked upon as a temporary arrangement. The grievances and abuses which would accompany such a restoration would now be far more forcibly felt by the Roman people than they were at a time when the Romans considered such abuses as their natural inheritance, and when they never had known a better state of things with which to compare them; but now that the Romans have been for many months free from the evils of their former Government, a return to those evils would produce infinitely greater discontent than that which has up to this time existed. It is evident, therefore, that in such a case, tranquillity would last only as long as the presence of a sufficient foreign force kept down the discontents of the people, and that whenever that foreign force was removed, renewed disturbances would break out; and such a state of things would not be productive of that tranquillity which the Austrian Government must naturally wish to see established in Italy.

On the other hand, if it should not be practicable so to reconcile the Pope and his subjects, as that the Pope might be enabled to return to Rome, it is possible that a Republican form of Government may take root in the Roman States, and such an order of things would probably not be that which Austria would wish to see prevail in Central Italy.

For these reasons Her Majesty's Government are desirous of engaging the Austrian Government to exert that influence which it is known to possess over the Papal Councils, in order to persuade the Pope to maintain the Constitutional concessions which he made to his subjects last year, and thus to pave the way for his resumption of the Papal Throne.

You will read this despatch to Prince Schwarzenberg and you will give him a copy of it.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 84.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 14.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, July 4, 1849.*

ON the night of the 29th a partial bombardment took place, and many shells fell; the only British subject, however, wounded, was Mr. Wyatt, the sculptor, but I am happy to say slightly. During this bombardment the French troops approached the batteries on the second line of defence through the medium of covered trenches; the Roman troops were taken by surprise, and recoiled for about fifty paces, and then returned, attacking the French with vigour. A severe conflict followed, which continued for about nine hours; the batteries remained in the hands of the French, which cost them the loss of 800 men between killed and wounded; the Romans lost about the same number, and more, about 400 prisoners. The engagement terminated by all the positions being given up to the French. From the landing of the French at Civita Vecchia up to the present day, the loss on the part of the Romans, between killed, wounded, and prisoners, cannot be less than 4000 men.

On the 30th, at a late hour, the Municipality sent a deputation to General Oudinot to propose terms of capitulation; the conditions were rejected by

General Oudinot, who offered an ultimatum, giving no guarantee whatever, except that of offering the "protection of the honour and liberal principles of the French Republic." This ultimatum was rejected by the Municipality protesting against the occupation of the city of Rome by the French troops, adding that the gates were opened and that no further resistance would be made by the military; throwing upon the French Government all responsibility if a collision should take place between the people and the French troops.

The city was occupied yesterday, and I am happy to say no collision took place, although there was some provocation on the part of the people, who received General Oudinot with partial hisses and groans.

General Garibaldi has quitted Rome with the free corps amounting to about 4000 men; and the troops of the line leave the city in number about 6000, in the course of the day, to occupy Rieti and Terni.

In consequence of General Oudinot entering the city of Rome as a conqueror, without preceding this act by a proclamation, compromised persons are in great alarm, and immense numbers have already left the city without being molested by the French. At the earnest request of the Pro-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Municipality, and the police, I have furnished about 500 individuals with passports for England—the last refuge for the unfortunate. These unhappy people have implored this protection even on their knees, and therefore, on the score of humanity, I could not resist their supplications; consequently I trust your Lordship will not disapprove of this act of mine, although not authorized by my instructions.

No. 85.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 17.)*

(Extract.)

*Paris, July 16, 1849.*

YOUR Lordship, in your despatch to Lord Ponsonby of the 13th instant, evidently contemplates the establishment of such Representative institutions as would fulfil the functions of a regular Constitutional Government. Should the forcible reasons which are there given why Austria should desire the permanent establishment of a Government in Central Italy, which should realize the just wishes of the people, and thereby avert future commotion, produce such an impression on the Austrian Government as to induce them to urge advice in that spirit upon the Pope and his counsellors at Gaeta, I cannot doubt that the French Government would not only sympathize in such a result, but, secured of the co-operation of Austria, be anxious to bear a part in bringing it about, and risk all other opposition for that object. But they are acting under the conviction not only that no concessions to that extent could be obtained voluntarily from the Pope, but that Austria, as well as Spain and Naples, would support His Holiness in opposition to the demand. France has therefore to consider her own peculiar position from the very outset.

If England gives advice consistent with her disinterested desire for the progress of rational liberty, then if her advice is taken she has the credit and the satisfaction of having acted up to her principles, and if it is disregarded, it is consistent with her known habits of non-interference, to consider that she retires from the affair without discredit. But France has 30,000 men at Rome, whom she cannot long leave there without inconvenience to herself and uneasiness to others. Yet if she were to propose to the Pope to establish a regular Constitutional Government, and His Holiness, in his present disposition, to refuse, the French must then either at all risks continue an indefinite military occupation of Rome, or they must make way for the Austrians to restore the Pope on his own terms, or they must attempt to found there some independent Government on the supposed wishes of the people.

This latter alternative would be most consistent with the popular origin of their own Government; but independent of the opposition which such propaganda would excite in many quarters, it is evident that the materials for such an impromptu creation would be wanting. It will for some time be a disputed point with how much goodwill the population of Rome submitted to the dictation of the Triumvirs; but the rule of the Triumvirs, the chair of



the Assembly, the command of the troops, and the direction of the harricades, were all in the hands of those who as foreigners could have no share in the future government of the country. As to the two other alternatives, pacific as is the present spirit of France, she could not submit to abandon Rome for Austria there to carry out her own objects, and Austria could not submit to the objectless continuation of French occupation. It would seem, therefore, that it is worth while to consider how far it would be an advantage to revert to the state of things which existed at the time of the first "Consultà," almost at the last moment at which Roman affairs were not swayed by extraneous revolutionary influences. It is true that the Pope and his people would now again meet with all enthusiasm lost and much experience gained, and this might enable one the better to examine how far the administrative reforms which His Holiness is ready to promise might in practice assume the character of constitutional guarantees. I understand that large concessions would be offered as to the control over the finances to be given to the municipalities in conjunction with the Consultà. Such provisions, like any others, may be obliterated or perverted in careless or corrupt hands, but history affords many examples where such institutions, more certainly than any written constitution, contained the germ of civil liberty. If in addition the code is purified and the independence of the judges established, one can easily foresee that when the people by such means have been prepared for further progress, the change may be effected at some moment more favourable than the present.

No. 86.

*The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 17.)*

My Lord,

Naples, July 5, 1849.

THE news of the surrender of Rome to the French forces was received on the 3rd instant, and on the following day Colonel Nigel arrived at Gaeta, having been charged by General Oudinot to present the keys of Rome to His Holiness.

His Sicilian Majesty having left Gaeta for Naples on that day, Colonel Nigel followed His Majesty to this capital, having been also charged by General Oudinot to communicate to him the occupation of Rome by the French troops.

A deputation consisting of seven of the principal inhabitants of Bologna has arrived at Naples by the way of Leghorn, and were yesterday released from quarantine.

The object of their mission is to pay their respects to the Pope, and to express their hope that His Holiness will confirm to his subjects the liberal institutions which he had conferred upon them.

It is very doubtful, however, whether the Pope will be inclined to receive the deputation.

Garibaldi had left Rome with about 4000 men, but it is uncertain which direction he has taken.

The Spanish division has marched upon Velletri to be ready to oppose him should he advance towards the Neapolitan frontier.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) W. TEMPLE.

No. 87.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 18.)*

(Extract.)

Paris, July 17, 1849.

FRANCE will not exact any conditions from the Pope as the price of his entrance to Rome, but her efforts will all be directed to have an understanding with him, probably commenced at Gaeta and matured at Rome, that the Roman people shall in improved institutions and in advance towards self-government find reason permanently to remember with no hostile feeling French intervention in their affairs.

No. 88.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 19.)*

My Lord,

Rome, July 5, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a proclamation issued by General Oudinot, dated the 4th instant, and another proclamation issued by General Rostolan, dated the 5th instant.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) JOHN FREEBORN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 88.

*Proclamation of General Oudinot.*

Abitanti di Roma,

L'ARMATA inviata dalla Repubblica Francese sul vostro territorio ha per scopo di ristabilirci l'ordine e la sicurezza.

Una minorità fazziosa o traviata, ci ha costretti di dare l'assalto alle vostre mura. Siamo padroni della piazza; adempiremo la nostra missione.

In mezzo alle prove di simpatia che ci hanno accolti, alcune vociferazioni ostili si sono scoppiate e ci hanno forzati ad una immediata repressione.

I cittadini dabbene, ed i veri amici della libertà ripiglino fiducia. I nemici dell'ordine e della società siano bene informati che se delle manifestazioni oppressive, provocate da una fazione straniera si rinnovassero, sarebbero punite con tutto rigore.

Per dare alla sicurezza pubblica delle positive garanzie prendo i seguenti dispositivi.

Provvisoriamente, tutt' i poteri sono concentrati nelle mani dell' autorità militare. Questa domanderà subito il concorso del municipio.

L'Assemblea e il Governo di cui il regno violento ed oppressivo ha cominciato coll' ingratitudine e finito con un grido all' armi contro una nazione amica delle popolazioni Romane, non esistono più.

I circoli politici ed associazioni politiche sono vietati.

Ogni individuo non militare, arrestato portatore di armi visibili o nascoste, sarà immediatamente tradotto dinanzi al consiglio di guerra.

Sarà lo stesso per ogni individuo militare che facesse uso delle sue armi.

Ogni pubblicazione col mezzo della stampa, ogni affisso non permesso dall' autorità militare, sono provvisoriamente vietati.

Habitans de Rome,

L'ARMÉE envoyée par la République Française sur votre territoire a pour mission d'y rétablir l'ordre et la sécurité.

Une minorité factieuse ou égarée nous a contraints de donner l'assaut à vos remparts. Nous sommes maîtres de la place. Nous accomplirons notre mission.

Au milieu des témoignages de sympathie qui nous ont accueillis, quelques clameurs hostiles se sont fait entendre et nous ont forcés à une répression immédiate.

Que les gens de bien et les vrais amis de la liberté reprennent confiance. Que les ennemis de l'ordre et de la société sachent que si des manifestations oppressives provoquées par une faction étrangère se renouvelaient, elles seraient rigoureusement punies.

Pour donner à la sécurité publique des garanties positives, j'arrête les dispositions suivantes.

Provisoirement, tous les pouvoirs sont concentrés entre les mains de l'autorité militaire. Elle fera immédiatement appel au concours de l'autorité municipale.

L'Assemblée et le Gouvernement dont le règne violent et oppressif a commencé par l'ingratitude et a fini par un appel à la guerre contre une nation amie des populations Romaines, cessent d'exister.

Les clubs et les associations politiques sont fermés.

Tout individu non militaire arrêté porteur d'armes, ostensibles ou cachées, sera immédiatement traduit en conseil de guerre.

Il en sera de même de tout individu militaire qui fera usage de ses armes.

Toute publication par la voie de la presse, toute affiche non autorisée par la autorité militaire, sont provisoirement interdites.

I delitti contro le persone e le proprietà saranno giustiziabili dai tribunali militari.

Il Generale di Divisione Rostolan è nominato a Governatore di Roma.

Il Generale di Brigata Sauvan è nominato a Comandante della Piazza.

Il Colonello Sol è nominato a Maggiore di Piazza.

*Roma, li 4 Luglio, 1849.*

Il Generale Comandante in capo,  
(Firmato) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

Les délits contre les personnes et les propriétés sont justiciables des tribunaux militaires.

Le Général de Division Rostolan est nommé Gouverneur de Rome.

Le Général de Brigade Sauvan est nommé Commandant de la Place.

Le Colonel Sol est nommé Major de la Place.

*Rome, 4 Juillet, 1849.*

(Translation.)

Inhabitants of Rome,

THE army sent to your territory by the French Republic, has for its object the re-establishment of order and security.

A factious or mistaken minority has compelled us to assault your ramparts. We are masters of the place. We will accomplish our object.

In the midst of the manifestations of sympathy by which we have been received, some hostile clamours have been heard, and have compelled us immediately to repress them.

Let well-disposed people and the true friends of liberty resume confidence. Let the enemies of order and of society be aware that if any disposition is again shown by a foreign faction to re-establish a system of oppression, it will be rigorously punished.

For the purpose of fully ensuring public safety, I lay down the following rules:—

Provisionally, all power is concentrated in the hands of the military authority. It will immediately apply for the concurrence of the municipal authority.

The Assembly and the Government whose violent and oppressive reign commenced in ingratitude and has terminated in an appeal to arms against a nation friendly to the Roman people, no longer exist.

The clubs and political associations are closed.

Every non-military individual arrested with arms on his person, either displayed or concealed, will be immediately made over to the Council of War.

Every military person who shall make use of his arms, will be treated in the same way.

All publications by means of the press, all placards not authorized by the military authority, are provisionally forbidden.

Offences against persons and property are cognizable by the military tribunals.

The General of Division Rostolan is named Governor of Rome.

The General of Brigade Sauvan is named Commandant of the place.

The Colonel Sol is named Major of the place.

*Rome, July 4, 1849.*

The General Commanding in chief,  
(Signed) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

Inclosure 2 in No. 88.

*Proclamation of General Rostolan.*

Abitanti di Roma,

IL Generale Comandante-in-capo l'Armata Francese mi ha nominato a Governatore della vostra città.

Vengo a questo posto coll'intenzione ben precisa di secondare energicamente,

Habitans de Rome,

LE Général Commandant-en-chef l'Armée Française, m'a nommé Gouverneur de votre cité.

J'arrive à cette position avec l'intention bien arrêtée de secondar éner-

con tutti i mezzi nel mio potere, le misure già prese dal Generale-in-capo per assicurare la vostra quiete; per proteggere le vostre persone, le vostre proprietà.

Prendo i seguenti dispositivi:

Da oggi in poi:

1. Ogni assembramento sulle vie pubbliche è interdetto, e sarà sciolto colla forza.

2. La Ritirata sarà suonata alle nove pomeridiane. La circolazione nella città cesserà alle nove e mezzo. A quell'ora i luoghi di riunione saranno chiusi.

3. I circoli politici che nonostante il proclama del Generale-in-capo, non fossero già chiusi, lo saranno col mezzo della forza, e i proprietari o conduttori dei luoghi dove detti circoli esistessero sarebbero perseguitati con tutto rigore.

4. Ogni violenza, ogni insulto contro i nostri soldati, o contro le persone che hanno con essi amichevoli relazioni, ogni impedimento recato all'approvvigionamento verranno immediatamente puniti con modo esemplare.

5. Potranno soltanto liberamente per correre la città nella notte i giudici ed i pubblici funzionari. Questi dovranno essere muniti d'un lascia-passare firmato dall'autorità militare e si faranno accompagnare di fazione in fazione fino ai luoghi ove dovranno rendersi.

Abitanti di Roma! Voi volete l'ordine, io saprò garantirvelo. Coloro che sognassero di prolungare la vostra oppressione, troverebbero in me una severità inflessibile.

Roma, 5 Luglio, 1849.

Il Generale di Divisione Governatore di Roma,  
(Firmato) ROSTOLAN.

(Translation.)

Inhabitants of Rome,

THE General Commander-in-chief of the French army has named me Governor of your city.

I assume that office with the firm determination of carrying out energetically by all the means in my power the measures already taken by the General-in-chief for insuring your tranquillity, for protecting your persons and your properties.

I lay down the following rules:

From this day—

1. All assemblages in the public thoroughfares are prohibited, and will be dispersed by force.

2. The retreat will be beaten at 9 in the evening. At half-past 9 people shall cease to move about in the streets: at that same hour all places of meeting shall be closed.

giquement par tous les moyens en mon pouvoir, les mesures déjà prises par le Général-en-chef pour assurer votre tranquillité, pour protéger vos personnes et vos propriétés.

J'arrête les dispositions suivantes:

A dater de ce jour:

1. Tout rassemblement sur la voie publique est interdit, et sera dissipé par la force.

2. La Retraite sera battue à 9 heures du soir. La circulation dans la ville cessera à 9 heures et demie; à cette même heure tous les lieux de réunion seront fermés.

3. Les clubs, qui, contrairement à la proclamation du Général-en-chef, n'auraient pas encore été fermés, le seront par la force, et les poursuites les plus rigoureuses seront exercées contre les propriétaires des lieux où ils se tiendraient.

4. Toute violence, toute insulte envers nos soldats ou envers les personnes qui communiquent amicalement avec eux, toute entrave apportée à l'approvisionnement de nos troupes, seront sur-le-champ punies d'une manière exemplaire.

5. Pourront seuls circuler librement pendant la nuit, les médecins et les fonctionnaires publics. Ils devront alors être porteurs d'un laissez-passer délivré par les autorités militaires, et ils se feront accompagner de poste en poste jusqu'aux lieux où ils auront à se rendre.

Habitans de Rome! vous voulez l'ordre et je saurai vous le garantir. Ceux qui rêveraient plus longtemps votre oppression trouveront en moi une sévérité inflexible.

Rome, le 5 Juillet, 1849.

3. The clubs, which contrary to the proclamation of the General-in-chief may not yet have been closed, shall be so by force, and the most rigorous measures will be adopted against the owners of the places where they may be held.

4. Every act of violence, every insult shown to our soldiers or towards the persons who may be in friendly intercourse with them, every impediment to supplying our troops with provisions, will be forthwith punished in an exemplary manner.

5. Medical men and public functionaries will alone be at liberty to move about during the night. They must then be the bearers of a pass granted by the military authorities, and they will apply for the attendance of an escort from post to post as far as the place to which they shall be proceeding.

Inhabitants of Rome, you wish for order, and I will insure it to you. Those who might dream of further oppressing you, will find in me an inflexible severity.

Rome, July 5, 1849.

The General of Division, Governor of Rome,  
(Signed) ROSTOLAN.

No. 89.

*M. Drouyn de Lhuys to Viscount Palmerston.*

(Extract.)

*Hertford House, 19 Juillet, 1849.*

A LA veille de la discussion qui doit s'ouvrir dans le Parlement au sujet des affaires de Rome, je crois convenable et utile de vous rappeler que dans les dépêches de M. de Tocqueville, dont j'ai eu l'honneur de vous donner lecture, le Gouvernement Français exprime maintes fois la ferme intention "d'assurer aux Etats Romains les réformes nécessaires et des institutions libérales sérieuses" . . . qu'il mande à ses Plénipotentiaires à Gaëte, "que la République a le droit de s'attendre à ce que les conditions nécessaires à l'existence d'un Gouvernement véritablement libéral et digne des lumières du siècle, ne soient pas refusées" . . . qu'enfin il m'informait dernièrement, "que tous ses efforts tendent aujourd'hui à obtenir du Saint Siège des mesures de conciliation et des réformes libérales, sans lesquelles il lui paraît impossible d'espérer la pacification durable des Etats de l'Eglise."

(Translation.)

*Hertford House, July 19, 1849.*

ON the eve of the discussion which is about to commence in Parliament on the subject of the affairs of Rome, I think it proper and useful to remind you that in M. de Tocqueville's despatches, which I have had the honour to read to you, the French Government repeatedly expresses its firm intention "of securing to the Roman States the necessary reforms and really liberal institutions;" that it informs its Plenipotentiaries at Gaeta, "that the Republic is intitled to expect that the conditions requisite for the existence of a Government truly liberal and worthy of the enlightened character of the age, should not be refused;" that finally, it informed me not long since, "that the tendency of all its efforts is to obtain from the Holy See measures of conciliation and liberal reforms, without which it seems to it impossible to look for the lasting pacification of the States of the Church."

No. 90.

*Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.*

(Extract.)

*Foreign Office, July 20, 1849.*

AS M. de Tocqueville alluded to the memorandum which the Representatives of the Five Powers at Rome presented in 1831 to the Cardinal Secretary of State, advising the Roman Government to adopt certain administrative reforms, and as M. de Tocqueville may not perhaps have a copy of that paper at hand, I transmit to your Excellency herewith two printed copies of it\*.

No. 91.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 21.)*

My Lord,

*Paris, July 20, 1849.*

M. DE TOCQUEVILLE has just read to me a telegraphic despatch of the date of the 16th, from Civita Vecchia, which states that in consequence of a demonstration on the part of the people of Rome, the authority of the Pope had been proclaimed and re-established on the 13th, amidst every demonstration of enthusiasm from the mass of the population.

The despatch further reports that the best understanding continues to prevail between the French troops and the citizens of Rome.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 92.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 23.)*

My Lord,

*Rome, July 14, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's despatch desiring me to send copy of the Allocution of Pius IX, dated the 20th April, which appeared in Nos. 23, 24, and 25 of the Bologna journal "Vera Libertà."

In consequence of all the clubs and reading-rooms being shut up by order of the police, it will be difficult to obtain, but I will exert myself in procuring it.

In the meanwhile to save time I transmit herewith translation in French, from the Latin original, which I had placed in the archives of the Consulate as a record.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) JOHN FREEBORN.

Inclosure in No. 92.

*Allocution of Pope Pius IX of April 20, 1849.*

[Original of the Allocution sent by Mr. Freeborn.]

Venerabiles Fratres.

QUIBUS, quantisque malorum procellis summo cum animi nostri dolore Pontificia nostra ditio, omnisque fere Italia miserandum in modum jactetur ac perturbetur, nemo certe ignorat, venerabiles fratres. Atque utinam homines tristissimis hisce rerum vicibus edocti aliquando intelligant, nihil ipsis perniciosius esse posse, quam a veritatis, justitiæ, honestatis et religionis semitis deflectere, ac nequissimis impiorum consiliis acquiescere, eorumque insidiis, fraudibus et erroribus decipi atque irretiri! Equidem universus terrarum orbis probe nescit, atque testatur, quæ quantaque fuerit paterni atque amantissimi animi nostri cura sollicitudo in vera solidaque Pontificiæ nostræ ditionis populo-

\* Presented to Parliament in 1848.

rum utilitate, tranquillitate, prosperitate procuranda, et quis tantæ nostræ indulgentiæ et amoris fructus extiterit. Quibus quidem verbis callidissimos tantorum malorum artifices dumtaxat damnamus, quin ullam maximæ populorum parti culpam tribuere velimus. Verumtamen deplorare cogimur, multos etiam e populo ita misere fuisse deceptos, ut aures suas a nostris vocibus ac monitis avertentes, illas fallacibus quorundam magistrorum doctrinis præbuerint, qui relinquentes *iter rectum, et per vias tenebras ambulantes\** eo unice spectabant, ut imperitiorum præsertim animos mentesque magnificis falsisque promissis in fraudem et in errorem inducerent, ac plane compellerent. Omnes profecto norunt, quibus laudum præconiis fuerit ubique concelebrata memoranda illa et amplissima venia a Nobis ad familiarum pacem, tranquillitatem, felicitatemque procurandam concessa. Ac neminem latet, plures ea venia donatos non solum suam mentem vel minimum haud immutasse, quemadmodum sperabamus, verum etiam eorum consiliis et molitionibus acrius in dies insistentes nihil unquam inausum nihilque intentatum reliquisse, ut civilem Romani Pontificis Principatum, ejusque regimen, uti jamdiu machinabantur, labefactarent et funditus everterent, ac simul acerrimum sanctissimæ nostræ religioni bellum inferrent. Ut autem id facilius consequi possent, nihil antiquius habuere, quam multitudines in primis convocare, inflammare, easque assiduis magnisque motibus agitare, quos vel nostrarum concessionum prætextu continenter fovere, et in dies augere summopere studebant. Hinc concessiones in ipso nostri Pontificatus initio a Nobis ultro ac libenter datæ non solum optatos fructus haud emitte, sed ne radices quidem agere unquam potuere, cum peritissimi fraudum architecti iisdem concessionibus ad novas concitandas agitationes abuterentur. Atque in hoc vestro consensu, venerabiles fratres, facta ipsa vel leviter attingere, ac raptim commemorare ea sane mente censemus, ut omnes bonæ voluntatis homines clare aperteque cognoscant, quid Dei et humani generis hostes velint, quid optent, quidque ipsis in animo semper fixum destinatumque sit.

Pro singulari nostro in subditos affectu dolebamus, ac vehementer angebamur, venerabiles fratres, cum assiduos illos populares motus tum publicæ tranquillitati et ordini, tum privatæ familiarum quieti ac paci tantopere adversos videremus, nec perferre poteramus crebras illas pecuniarias collectas, quæ variis nominibus non sine levi civium incommodo et dispendio postulabantur. Itaque mense Aprilis anno 1847 per publicum edictum nostri Cardinalis a publicis negotiis omnes monere haud omisimus, ut ab ejusmodi popularibus conventibus et largitionibus sese abstinere, atque ad propria pertractanda negotia animum mentemque denuo converterent, omnemque in nobis fiduciam collocarent, ac pro certo haberent paternas nostras curas cogitationesque ad publica comoda comparanda unice esse conversas, quemadmodum jam pluribus ac luculentissimis argumentis ostenderamus. Verum salutaria hæc nostra monita, quibus tantos populares motus compescere, et populos ipsos ad quietis et tranquillitatis studia revocare nitebamur, pravis quorundam hominum desideriis et machinationibus vehementer adversabantur. Itaque indefessi agitationum auctores, qui jam alteri ordinationi jussu nostro ab eodem Cardinali ad rectam utilenque populi educationem promovendam editæ obstiterant, vix dum monita illa nostra novērunt, haud destitere contra ipsa ubique inelamare, et acriori usque studio incautas multitudines commovere, eisque callidissime insinuare ac persuadere, ne illi tranquillitati a nobis tantopere exoptatæ se unquam dare vellent, haud insidiosum in ea lateret consilium, ut populi quodammodo indormirent, atque ita in posterum duro servitutis iugo facilius opprimi possent. Atque ex eo tempore plurima scripta typis quoque edita, atque acerbissimis quibusque contumeliis, conviciis, minisque plenissima ad nos missa fuere, quæ oblivione sempiterna obruimus, flammisque tradidimus. Ut autem inimici homines fidem aliquam facerent falsis periculis, quæ in populum impendere elanitabant, haud reformidarunt mentis cujusdam conjurationis, ab ipsis appositæ excogitatæ, rumorem ac metum in vulgus spargere, ac turpissimo mendacio vociferari, ejusmodi conjurationem initam esse ad urbem Romam civili bello, cadibus ac funeribus funestandam, ut novis institutionibus penitus sublati atque deleti, pristina gubernandi forma iterum revivisceret. Sed hujus falsissimæ conjurationis prætextu inimici homines eo spectabant, ut populi contemptum, invidiam, furorem contra quosdam lectissimos quoque viros virtute, religione præstantes, et ecclesiastica etiam dignitate insignes nefarie commoverent atque excitarent. Probe nostis, in hoc

\* *Pror. c. II, v. 13.*

rerum metu civicam militiam fuisse propositam, ac tanta celeritate collectam, ut recte illius institutioni et disciplinae consuli minime potuerit.

Ubi primum ad publicæ administrationis prosperitatem magis magisque procurandam opportunum fore censuimus Status Consultationem instituire, inimici homines occasionem exinde statim arripere, ut nova Gubernio vulnera imponerent ac simul efficerent, ut hujusmodi institutio, quæ publicis populorum rationibus magnæ utilitati esse poterat, in damnum ac perniciem cederet. Et quoniam eorum opinio impune jam invaluerat, ea institutio et Pontificii regiminis indeolentæ naturam immutari, et Nostram auctoritatem Consultorum judicio subijci, idcirco eo ipso die quo illa Status Consultatio inaugurata fuit, haud omisimus turbulentos quosdam homines, qui Consultores comitabantur gravibus severisque verbis serio monere, eisque verum hujus institutionis finem clare aperteque manifestare. Verum perturbatores numquam desinebant deceptam populi partem majore usque impetu sollicitare, et quo facilius assecularum numerum habere et augere possent, tum in Pontificia nostra ditione, tum apud externas quoque gentes insigni prorsus impudentia atque audacia evulgabant, eorum opinionibus et consiliis nos plane assentire. Memineritis, Venerabiles Fratres, quibus verbis in nostra Consistoriali Allocutione die 4 mensis Octobris anno 1847, ad vos habita universos populos serio commoneare et exhortari haud omiserimus, ut ab ejusmodi veteratorum fraude studiocissime caverent. Interim vero pervicaces insidiarum et agitationem auctores, ut turbas metusque continenter alerent et excitarent, mense Januario superioris anni incautorum animos inani externi belli rumore territabant, atque in vulgus spargebant, bellum idem internis conspirationibus et maligna Gubernantium inertia foveri ac sustentatum iri. Nos ad tranquillandos animos, et insidiantium fallacias refellendas nulla quidem interposita mora die 10 Februarii ipsius anni voces ejusmodi omnino falsas et absurdas esse declaravimus illis nostris verbis, quæ omnes probe conoscent. Atque in eo tempore carissimis nostris subditis, quod nunc Deo bene juvante eveniet, prenuntiavimus, futurum scilicet, ut innumerabiles filii ad communis omnium fidelium Patris domum, ad Ecclesiæ nempe Statum propugnandum convolarent, si arctissima illa grati animi vincula, quibus Italiæ Principes, populique intime inter se obstricti debebant, dissoluta fuissent, ac populi ipsi suorum Principum sapientiam, eorumque jurium sanctitatem vereri, ac totis viribus tueri et defendere neglexissent.

Etsi vero nostra illa verba nuper commemorata tranquillitatem brevi quidem temporis spatio iis omnibus attulere, quorum voluntas continue adversabatur perturbationi, nihil tamen valere apud infensissimos Ecclesiæ, et humanæ societatis hostes, qui novas jam turbas, novos tumultus concitaverant. Siquidem calumniis insistentes, quæ ab ipsis, eorumve similibus contra Religiosos Viros divino ministerio addictos, et bene de Ecclesiâ meritis disseminatæ fuerant, populares iras omni impetu adversus illos excitant atque inflammant. Neque ignoratis, Venerabiles Fratres, nihil valuisse nostra verba ad populum die 10 Martii superioris anni habita, quibus religiosam illam familiam ab exilio et dispersione eripere magnopere studebamus.

Cum inter hæc notissimæ illæ rerum publicarum conversiones in Italiâ et Europa evenirent, nos iterum Apostolicam nostram attollentes vocem die 30 Martii ejusdem anni haud omisimus universos populos etiam atque etiam monere, hortari, ut et Catholicæ Ecclesiæ libertatem vereri, et civilis societatis ordinem tegere, et omnium jura tueri, et sanctissimæ nostræ religionis præcepta exequi, et in primis Christianam in omnes caritatem exercere omnino studerent, quandoquidem si hæc ipsi agere neglexissent, pro certo haberent, quod Deus ostenderet, se populorum dominatorem esse.

Iam vero quisque vestrum plane noscit quomodo in Italiam Constitutionarii regiminis forma fuerit invecta, et quomodo statutum a nobis die 14 Martii superioris anni nostri subditis concessum in lucem prodierit. Cum autem implacabiles publicæ tranquillitates et ordinis hostes nihil antiquius haberent, quam omnia contra Pontificium Gubernium conari, et populum assiduis motibus, suspicionibus exagitare, tum qua scriptis in lucem editis, qua circulis, qua societatibus, et aliis quibusque artibus numquam intermittebant Gubernium atrociter calumniari, eique inertie, doli et fraudis notam inurere, licet Gubernium ipsum omni cura et studio in id incumberet, ut statutum tantopere exoptatum majore, qua fieri posset, vulgaretur celeritate. Atque hic universo terrarum orbi manifestare volumus eo ipso tempore homines illos in suo constantes proposito subvertendi Pontificiam ditionem, totamque Italiam nobis proposuisse non jam Consti-



tutionis, sed Reipublicæ proclamationem, veluti unicam tum nostræ, tum Ecclesiæ Status incolumitatis perflugium atque presidium. Subit adhuc nocturna illa hora, et versantur nobis ante oculos quidam homines, qui a fraudum architectis misere illusi ac decepti illorum ea in re causam agere, atque eandem reipublicæ proclamationem nobis proponere non dubitabant. Quod quidem, præter innumera alia et gravissima argumenta, magis magisque demonstrat, novarum institutionum petitiones et progressum ab hujusmodi hominibus tantopere prædicatum eo unice spectare, ut assidue foveantur agitationes, ut omnia justitiæ, virtutis, honestatis, religionis principia usquequaque penitus tollantur, atque horrendum et luctuosissimum, ac vel ipsi naturali rationi et juri maxime adversum *Socialismi*, vel etiam *Communismi*, uti appellant, systema cum maximo totius humanæ societatis detrimento et exitio quaquaversus inducatur, propagetur, ac longe lateque dominetur.

Sed quamvis hæc terrifica conspiratio, vel potius hæc diuturna conspiratio, series clara esset et manifesta, tamen, Deo sic permittente, multis illorum fuit ignota, quibus communis tranquillitas tot sane de causis cordi summo esse debebat. Atque etsi indefessi turbarum moderatores gravissimum de se suspicionem darent, tamen non defuere quidam bonæ voluntatis homines, qui amicam illis manum præbuere, ea forsitan spe freti fore, ut eos ad moderationis et justitiæ sententiam reducere possent.

Interim belli clamor per universam Italian extemplo pervasit, quo Pontificiæ Nostræ ditionis subditorum pars commota atque abrepta ad arma convolvit, ac Nostræ voluntati obstitens ejusdem Pontificiæ ditionis fines prætergredi voluit. Nostis, Venerabiles Fratres, quomodo debitas tum Summi Pontificis, tum Supremi Principis partes obeuntes injustis illorum desideriis obstiterimus, qui Nos ad illud bellum gerendum pertrahere volebant, quique postulabant, ut inexpertam juventutem subitario modo collectam, ac militaris artis peritia et disciplina numquam exultam, et idoneis ductoribus bellicisque subsidiis destitutam ad pugnam, id est ad certam cadem compelleremus. Atque id a Nobis expectebatur qui licet immeritis inserutabili Divinæ providentiæ consilio ad Apostolicæ Dignitatis fastigium erecti, ac vicariam Christi Jesu hic in terris operam gerentes a Deo, qui est auctor pacis, et amator caritatis, missionem accepimus, ut omnes populos, gentes, nationes pari paterni amoris studio prosequentes, omnium salutis totis viribus consulamus, et non jam ut homines ad clades mortemque impellamus. Quod si quicumque Princeps nonnisi justis de causis bellum aggredi numquam potest, equis tam consiliis, et rationis expertis umquam erit, qui plane non videat, Catholicum orbem merito atque optimo jure longe majorem justitiam, gravioresque causas a Romano Pontifice requirere, si Pontificem ipsum alicui bellum indicere et inferre conspiciat? Quamobrem Nostra Allocutione die 29 Aprilis superiori anno ad Vos habita palam publiceque declaravimus, Nos ab illo bello omnino esse alienos. Atque eodem tempore insidiosissimum profecto munus tum voce, tum scripto Nobis oblatum, ac non solum Personæ Nostræ vel maxime injuriosum, verum etiam Italiæ perniciosissimum repudiavimus, rejecimus, ut scilicet Italiæ cujusdam Reipublicæ regimini presidere vellemus. Equidem singulari Dei miseratione gravissimum loquendi, monendi, hortandique munus a Deo ipso Nobis impositum implendum curavimus, atque adeo confidimus, Nobis illud Isaïæ impropcriari non posse: *Vae mihi quia tacevi*. Utinam vero paternis Nostris vocibus, monitis, hortationibus suis Nostri omnes filii præbuisissent aures!

Mcmineritis, Venerabiles Fratres, qui clamores, quique tumultus a turbulentissimæ factionis hominibus excitati fuere post Allocutionem a Nobis nunc commemoratam, et quomodo civile Ministerium Nobis fuerit impositum Nostris quidem consiliis, ac principis, et Apostolicæ sedis juribus summo adversum. Nos quidem jam inde infelicem Italiæ belli exitum futurum animo prospeximus, dum unus ex illis Ministris asserere non dubitabat, bellum idem, Nobis licet invitis ac reluctantibus, et absque Pontificia benedictione, esse duraturum. Qui quidem Minister gravissimam Apostolicæ Sedi inferens injuriam haud extimuit proponere civilem Romani Pontificis Principatum a spirituali ejusdem potestate omnino esse separandum. Atque idem ipse haud multo post ea de Nobis palam asserere non dubitavit, quibus Summum Pontificem ab humani generis consorcio ejiceret quodammodo et dissociaret. Justus et misericors Dominus voluit nos humiliare sub potenti manu ejus, cum permisit, ut plures per menses veritas ex una parte, mendacium ex altera acerrimo inter se dimicarent certamine, cui attulit finem novi Ministerii electio, quod postea alteri locum cessit, in quo ingeni

aus cum peculiaritum publici Ordinis tutandi, tum legum observandarum studio erat conjuncta. Verum effrenata pravaram cupiditatum licentia et audacia in dies caput altius extollens longe grassabatur, ac Dei hominumque hostes diuturna ac sæva dominandi, diripiendi, ac destruendi siti incensi nihil jam aliud optabant, quam jura quæque divina et humana subvertere, ut eorum desideria possent explere. Hinc machinationes jamdiu comparatæ palam publicæque emicuerunt, et viæ humano sanguine respersæ, et sacrilegia nunquam satis deploranda commissa, et inaudita prorsus violentia in Nostris ipsis Quirinalibus Aedibus infando ausu Nobis illata. Quocirca tantis oppressi angustiis cum ne dum Principis, sed ne Pontificis quidem partes libere obire possemus, non sine maxima animi Nostri amaritudine a Sede Nostra discedere debuimus. Quæ luctuosissima facta in publicis Nostris protestationibus enarrata hoc loco iterum recensere præterimus, ne funesta illorum recordatione communis noster recrudescat dolor. Ubi vero seditiosi homines Nostras illas noverunt protestationes, majore furentes audacia, et omnia omnibus minitantes nulli neque fraudis, neque doli, neque violentiæ generi peperecerunt, ut bonis omnibus jam pavore prostratis majorem usque terrorem injicerent. Ac postquam novam illam Gubernii formam ab ipsis *Giunta di Stato* appellatam invexere, ac penitus sustulerunt duo Consilia a Nobis instituta, totis viribus allaborarunt, ut novum cogeretur Consilium, quod *Constituentis Romanae* nomine nuncupare voluerunt. Refugit quidem animus, ac dicere reformidat quibus quantisque fraudibus ipsi usi fuerint, ut ejusmodi rem ad exitum perducerent. Hic vero haud possumus, quin meritis majori Pontificiæ ditionis magistratum parti laudes tribuamus, qui proprii honoris et officii memores munere se abdicare maluerunt, quam ullo modo manum operi admoveere, quo eorum Princeps et amantissimus Pater legitimo suo civili Principatu spoliabatur. Illud tandem consilium fuit coactum, et quidam Romanus Advocatus vel in ipso sæpe primæ orationis exordio ad congregatos habite, omnibus clare aperteque declaravit, quid ipse cunctique alii sui socii horribilis agitationis auctores sentirent, quid vellent, et quo spectarent. *Lex*, ut elle inquebat, *moralis progressus est imperiosa et inexorabilis*, ac simul addebat, sibi, ceterisque jamdiu in animo fixum esse, temporale Apostolicæ Sedis dominium ac regimen funditus evertere, licet modis omnibus eorum desideriis a Nobis fuisset obscurdatum. Quam declarationem in hoc vestro consensu commemorare volumus, ut omnes intelligant pravam hujusmodi voluntatem non conjectura, aut suspitione aliqua a Nobis turbaram auctoribus fuisse attributam, sed eam universo terrarum orbi palam publicæque ab illis ipsis manifestatam, quos vel ipse pudor ab eadem proferenda declaratione revocare debuisset. Non liberiores igitur institutiones, non utiliores publicæ administrationis procurationem, non providas cujusque generis ordinationes hujusmodi homines cupiebant, sed civilem Apostolicæ Sedis principatum, potestatemque impetere, convellere, ac destruere omnino volebant. Ac ejusmodi consilium, quantum in ipsis fuit, ad exitum deduxerunt illo *Romanae*, uti vocant, *Constituentis* decreto die 9 Februarii hujus anni edito, quo nescimus, an majori injustitia contra jura Romanæ Ecclesiæ, adjunctamque illis Apostolici obeundi muneris libertatem, vel majori subditorum Pontificiæ ditionis damno et calamitate, Romanos Pontifices a temporali Gubernio tum jure tum facto decidisse declararunt. Non levi quidem mœrore ob tam tristia facta confecti fuimus, Venerabiles Fratres, atque illud in primis vel maxime dolemus, quod Urbs Roma Catholicæ veritatis et unitatis centrum, virtutis ac sanctitatis magistra per impiorum ad eam quotidie confluentium hominum operam, omnibus gentibus, populis, nationibus tantorum malorum auctrix appareat. Veruntamen in tanto animi Nostri dolore pergratum Nobis est posse affirmare, longe maximam tum Romani Populi, tum aliorum Pontificiæ Nostræ ditionis populorum partem Nobis et Apostolicæ Sedi constanter addictam a nefariis illis machinationibus abhorruisse, licet tot tristium eventuum spectatrix extiterit. Summæ quoque consolationi Nobis fuit Episcoporum, et Cleri Pontificiæ Nostræ ditionis sollicitudo, qui in mediis periculis, et omne genus difficultatibus ministerii et officii sui partes obire non destiterunt, ut populos ipsos qua voce, qua exemplo a motibus illis, nefariisque factionis consiliis averterent.

Nos certe in tanto rerum certamine atque discrimine nihil intentatum relinquimus, ut publicæ tranquillitati et ordini consuleremus. Multo enim tempore antequam tristissima illa Novembris facta evenirent, omni studio curavimus, ut Helvetiorum copiæ Apostolicæ Sedis servitio addictæ, atque Nostris Provinciis degentes in urbem deducerentur, quæ tamen res contra Nostram voluntatem ad

exitum minime fuit perducta eorum opera, qui mense Majo Ministrorum munere fungebantur. Neque id solum, verum etiam ante illud tempus, nec non et postea tum publico præsertim Romæ ordini tuendo, tum inimicorum hominum audaciæ comprimendæ curas Nostras convertimus ad alia militum presidia comparanda, quæ, Deo ita permittente, ob rerum ac temporum vicissitudines Nobis defuere. Tandem post ipsa luctuosissima Novembris facta haud omisimus Nostris litteris die quinta Januarii datis omnibus indigenis Nostris militibus etiam atque etiam inculcare, ut religionis et militaris honoris memores juratam suo Principi fidem custodirent, ac sedulam impenderent operam, quo ubique tum publica tranquillitas, tum debita erga legitimum Gubernium obedientia ac devotio servaretur. Neque id tantum, verum etiam Helvetiorum copias Romam petere jussimus, quæ huic Nostra voluntati haudquaquam obsecutæ sunt, cum præsertim supremum illarum Ductor in hac re baud recte atque honorifice se gesserit.

Atque interim factionis moderatores majore in dies audacia et impetu opus urgentes tum Nostram Personam, tum alios qui Nostro adhærent lateri horrendis ejusque generis calumniis et contumeliis lacerare non intermittebant; ac vel ipsis Sacrosancti Evangelii verbis et sententiis nefarie abuti non dubitabant, ut in vestimentis ovium, cum intrinsecus eint lupi rapaces, imperitam multitudinem ad prava quæque eorum consilia et molimina pertraherent, atque incautorum mentes falsis doctrinis imbuerent. Subditi vero temporali Apostolicæ Sedis ditioni, et Nobis immobili fide addicti merito atque optimo jure a Nobis exposcebant, ut eos a tot gravissimis, quibus undique premebantur, angustiis, periculis, calamitatibus, et jacturis eriperemus. Et quoniam nonnulli ex ipsis reperiuntur qui nos veluti causam (innocentiam licet) tantarum perturbationum suspiciunt, ideo isti animadvertant velimus, Nos quidem ut primum ad Supremam Apostolicam Sedem evecti fuimus, paternas Nostras curas et consilia, quænamadmodum supra declaravimus, eo certe intendisse ut Pontificiæ Nostræ ditionis populus omni studio in meliorem conditionem adduceremus, sed inimicorum ac turbulentorum hominum opera factum esse, ut consilia illa Nostra in irritum cederent, contra vero fuctiosis ipsis, Deo permittente, contigisse, ut ad exitum perducere possent quæ a longo ante tempore moliri ac tentare omnibus quibusque malitiæ artibus nunquam destiterant. Itaque id ipsum, quod jam alias ediximus, hic iterum repetimus, in tam gravi scilicet ac luctuosa tempore, quæ universas fere terrarum orbis tantopere jactatur, Dei manum esse agnoscendam, ejusque vocem audiendam, qui ejusmodi flagellis hominum peccata et iniquitates punire solet, ut ipsi ad justitiæ semitas redire festinent. Hanc igitur vocem audiant qui erraverunt a veritate, et delinquentes vias suas convertantur ad Dominum; audiant etiam illi, qui in hoc tristissimo rerum statu magis de privati propriis commodis, quam de Ecclesiæ bono, et rei catholice prosperitate solliciti sunt, ac meminerint nihil prodesse homini si *mundum universum lucretur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiantur*; audiant et pii Ecclesiæ filii, ac præstolantes in patientia salutare Dei, et majore usque studio emundantes conscientias suas ab omni inquinamento peccati, miserationes Domini implorare, Eique magis magisque placere, ac jugiter famulari contendant.

Atque inter hæc Nostra ardentissima desideria haud possumus eos non monere speciatim et redarguere, qui decreto illi, quo Romanus Pontifex omni civilis sui imperii honore ac dignitate est spoliatus, plaudunt ac decretum idem ad ipsius Ecclesiæ libertatem felicitatemque procurandam vel maxime conducere asserunt. Hic autem palam publiceque profiteamur, nulla Nos dominandi cupiditate, nullo temporalis Principatus desiderio hæc loqui, quandoquidem Romanos indoles et ingenium a quavis dominatione profecto est alienum. Verumtamen officii nostri ratio postulat, ut in civili Apostolicæ sedis principatu tuendo jura possessionesque Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, atque ejusdem sedis libertatem, quæ cum totius ecclesiæ libertate et utilitate est conjuncta, totis viribus defendamus. Et quidem homines, qui commemorato plaudentes decreto tam falsa et absurda affirmant, vel ignorant, vel ignorare simulant, singularem prorsus Divinæ Providentiæ consilio factum esse, ut Romano Imperio in plura regna, variasque ditiones diviso, Romanus Pontifex, cui a Christo Domino totius Ecclesiæ regimen et cura fuit commissa, civilem principatum hæc sane de causa haberet, ut ad ipsam ecclesiæ regendam, ejusque unitatem tuendam plena illa potiretur libertate, quæ ad Supremi Apostolici ministerii munus obeundum requiritur. Namque omnibus compertum est, fideles populos, gentes, regna nunquam plenam fiduciam, et observantiam esse præstitura Romano Pontifici, si illum alienius Principis, vel Gubernii dominio subjectum, ac minime liberum esse conspicerent. Si quidem fideles populi, et regna vehementer suspicari, ac vereri nunquam

desiderent, ne Pontifex idem sua acta ad illius Principis, vel Gubernii, in ejus ditione, versaretur, voluntatem conformaret, atque iccirco actis illis hoc prae-textu saepius refragari non dubitarent. Et quidem dicant vel ipsi hostes civilis Principatus Apostolicæ Sedis, qui nunc Romæ dominantur, quamvis fiducia, et observantia ipsi essent excepturi hortationes, monita, mandata, constitutiones Summi Pontificis, cum illum cujusvis Principis, aut Gubernii Imperio subditum esse cognoscere. præsertim vero si cui subesset Principi, inter quem et Romanam ditionem diuturnum aliquod ageretur bellum?

Interea nemo non videt quibus quantisque vulneribus in ipsis Pontificæ ditionis regionibus immaculata Christi sponsa nunc afficiatur, quibus vinculis, qua turpissima servitute magis magisque opprimatur, quantisque angustiis visibile illius caput obruatur. Equis enim ignorat, nobis communicationem cum urbe Roma, illiusque nobis carissimo Clero, et universo Pontificæ ditionis Episcopatu, ceterisque fidelibus ita esse præpeditam, ut ne epistolas quidem, de ecclesiasticis licet ac spiritualibus negotiis agentes, vel mittere, vel accipere libere possimus? Quis nescit, Urbem Romam principem Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Sedem in presentia pro dolor? silvam frementium bestiarum esse factam, cum ea omnium nationum hominibus redundet, qui vel apostata, vel heretici, vel *Communismi* uti dicunt, aut *Socialismi* magistri, ac summo contra catholicam veritatem odio animati tum voce, tum scriptis, tum aliis quibusque modis omnigenos pestiferos errores docere, disseminare, omniumque mentes et animos pervetere conantur, ut in urbe ipsa, si fieri unquam posset Catholica religionis sanctitas et irreformabilis fidei regula depraveretur? Cui jam notum, auditumque non est, in Pontificia ditione ecclesiæ bona, redditus, possessiones ausu temerario et sacrilego occupatas, augustissima templa suis ornamentis nudata, religiosa Cœnobita in profanos usus conversa, Virgines Deo sacras vexatas, lectissimos, atque integerrimos ecclesiasticos, religiososque viros crudeliter insectatos, in vincula coniectos, et occisos, sacros clarissimos antistites vel ipsa Cardinalitia dignitate insignes a propriis gregibus diræ avulsos, et in carcerem abreptos? Atque hæc tanta facinora contra ecclesiam, ejusque jura, libertatem admittuntur tum in Pontificæ ditionis locis, tum alibi, ubi homines illi, vel eorum similes dominantur, eo scilicet tempore; quo iidem ipsi libertatem ubique proclamant, ac sibi in votis esse configunt, ut suprema Summi Pontificis potestas a quovis prorsus vinculo expedita omni libertate fruatur.

Jam porro neminem latet in qua tristissima ac deploranda conditione carissimi nostri versentur subditi eorundem hominum opera, qui tanta adversus ecclesiam flagitia committunt. Publicum enim aerarium dissipatum exhaustum, commercium intermissum ac pene extinctum, ingentes pecuniæ summae optimatibus viris aliisque impositæ, privatorum bona ab illis, qui se populorum rectores et effrenatarum cohortium ductores appellant, direpta, bonorum, omnium tremefacta libertas, eorumque tranquillitas in summum discrimen adducta, ac vita ipsa sicarii pugioni subjecta, et alia maxima et gravissima mala ac damna, quibus continenter cives tantopere affliguntur atque terrentur. Hæc scilicet sunt illius prosperitatis initia, quam summi Pontificatus oscores Pontificæ Ditionis populi annunciant atque promittunt.

In magno igitur et incredibili dolore, que ob tantas tum ecclesiæ, tum pontificæ nostræ ditionis populorum calamitates intime excruciamur, probe noscentes officii nostri rationem omnino postulare, ut ad calamitates ipsas amovendas ac propulsandas omnia conaremur, jam inde a die quarta Decembris proximi superioris anni omnium principum, et nationum opem, auxiliumque implorare, et exposcere haud omisimus. Ac nobis tempore non possumus, quin vobiscum, venerabiles fratres, nunc communicemus singularem illam consolationem, qua affecti fuimus, cum iidem Principes, et populi, etiam illi qui Catholicæ unitatis vinculo nobis minime sunt conjuncti, propensissimum eorum erga nos voluntatem luculentis sane modis testari ac declarare studuerint. Quod quidem dum acerbissimum animi nostri dolorem mirifice lenit atque solatur, magis magisque demonstrat quomodo Deus ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ semper propitius adsistat. Atque in eam spem erigimur fore, ut omnes intelligant, gravissima illa mala, quibus in hac tanta temporum asperitate populi, ac regna vexantur, et sanctissimæ nostræ religionis contemptu suam dixisse originem, nec aliunde solatium ac remedium habere posse, quam ex divina Christi doctrina, ejusque sanctæ ecclesiæ, quæ virtutum omnium fecunda parens et alitrix, atque expultrix vitiatorum, dum homines ad omnem veritatem ac justitiam instituit, eosque mutua caritate constringit, publico civilis societatis bono, et ordini mirandam in modum consulit ac prospicit.

Postquam vero omnium Principum opem imploravimus, ab Austria, quæ Pontificæ nostræ ditioni ad Septentrionem finitima est, auxilium eo sane libentius efflagitavimus, quod ipsa non solum temporali Apostolicæ Sedis dominio tuendo egregiam suam semper operam navaverit, verum etiam quod nunc ea profecto spes effulgeat fore, ut ab illo Imperio juxta ardentissima nostra desideria, justissimasque nostras postulatinnes notissima quædam elinimentur principia ab Apostolica Sede perpetuo improbata, ac propterea inibi Ecclesia in suam restitatur libertatem cum maximo illorum fidelium bono atque utilitate. Quod quidem dum non mediocri animi nostri consolatione significamus, plane non dubitamus, quin id vobis non leve afferat gaudium.

Idem auxilium a Gallica Natione ex postulavimus, quam singulari patermi animi nostri benevolentia et effectu prosequimur, cum illius Nationis Clerus, populusque fidelis omnibus quibusque filialis devotionis et observantiae significationibus nostras calamitates et angustias lenire ac solari studuerit.

Hispaniæ quoque opem invocavimus, quæ de nostris angustiiis vehementer anxia atque sollicita alias Catholicas nationes primum excitavit, ut filii quodam fodere inter se inito communem fidelium Patrem ac Supremum Ecclesiæ Pastorem in propriam sedem reducere contenderent.

Hanc denique opem ab utriusque Siciliæ Regno efflagitavimus, in quo hospitamur apud illius Regem, qui in veram solidamque suorum populorum felicitatem promovendam totis viribus incumbens tanta religione ac pietate refulget, ut suis ipsis populis exemplo esse possit. Etsi vero nullis verbis exprimere possimus, quanta cura et studio idem Princeps eximiam suam filialem in nos devotionem omnium officiorum genere, et egregiis factis assidue testari, et confirmare letatur, tamen præclara ejusdem Principis in nos merita nulla unquam delebit oblivio. Neque taciti ullo modo præterire possumus pietatis, amoris et obsequii significationes, quibus ejusdem Regni Clerus, et populus nos prosequi nunquam destitit, ex quo Regnum ipsum attigimus.

Quamobrem in eam spem erigimur fore, ut, Deo bene juvante, Catholicæ illæ gentes Ecclesiæ, ejusque Summi Pontifices communis omnium fidelium Patris causam prae oculis habentes ad civilem Apostolicæ Sedes Principatum vindicandum, ad pacem et tranquillitatem subditis nostris restituendam quamprimum accurrere properent, ac futurum confidimus, ut Sanctissimæ nostræ religionis, et civiles societatis hostes ab urbe Roma, totoque Ecclesiæ statu amoveantur. Atque id ubi contigerit, omni certe vigilantia, studio, contentione a nobis erit curandum, ut illi omnes errores, et gravissima propulsentur scandala, quæ cum bonis omnibus tam vehementer dolere debuimus. Atque in primis vel maxime allaborandum, ut hominum mentes ac voluntates impiorum fallaciis, insidiis et fraudibus miserandum in modum deceptæ collustrentur sempiternæ veritatis lumine, quo homines ipsi funestissimos errorum et vitiorum fructus agnoscant, atque ad virtutis, justitiæ et religionis semitas amplectendas excitentur et inflammentur. Optime enim noscitis, Venerabiles Fratres, horrenda illa et omnigena opinionum monstra, quæ ex abyssi puteo ad exitum et vastitatem emersa longe jam lateque cum maximo religionis, civilisque societatis detrimento invaluerunt, ac delæccantur. Quas perversas perticerasque doctrinas inimici homines seu voce, seu scriptis, seu publicis spectaculis in vulgus disseminare nunquam intermittunt, ut effrenata cujusque impietatis, cupiditatis, libidinis licentia magis in dies augeatur et propagetur. Hinc poro illæ omnes calamitates exitia et luctus, quibus humanum genus, ac universus fere terrarum orbis tantopere est funestatus et funestatur. Neque ignoratis cujusmodi bellum contra sanctissimam nostram religionem in ipsa quoque Italia nunc geratur, quibusque fraudibus et inactionibus teterimi ipsius religionis et civilis societatis hostes imperitorum præsertim animos a fidei sanctitate, sanaque doctrina avertere, eosque æstuantibus incredulitatis fluctibus demergere atque ad gravissima quæque peragenda facinora compellere conentur. Atque ut facilius eorum consilia ad exitum perducere, et horribiles cujusque seditionis et perturbationis motus excitare ac fovere possint hæreticorum hominum vestigiis inhaerentes, suprema Ecclesiæ auctoritate omnino despecta, plane non dubitant Sacrarum Scripturarum verba testimonia, sententias privato proprio, pravoque sensu invocare, interpretari, invertere, detorquere, ac per summam impietatem sanctissimo Christi nomine nefarie abuti non reformidanti. Neque eos pudet palam publiceque asserere, tum cujusque sanctissimi juramenti violationem, tum quamlibet scelestam, flagitiosamque actionem sempiternæ ipsi naturæ legi repugnantem non solum haud esse improbandam, verum etiam

omnino licitam, summisque laudibus efferendam quando id pro patriæ amore, ut ipsi dicunt, agatur. Quo impio ac præpostero argumentandi genere ab ejusmodi hominibus omnis prorsus honestas, virtus, justitia penitus tollitur, atque nefanda ipsius latronis et sicarii agendi ratio per inauditam impudentiam defenditur et commendatur.

Ad ceteras innumeras fraudes, quibus Catholicæ Ecclesiæ inimici contiuenter utuntur, ut incautos præsertim et imperitos ab ipsius Ecclesiæ sinu avellant et abripiant acerrimæ etiam, ac turpissimæ accedunt calumniæ, quas in Personam Nostram intendere et cominisci non erubescunt. Nos quidem nullis licet Nostris meritis Illius hic in terris vicariam gerentes operam, qui cum *malediceretur non maledicebat, cum pateretur non comminabatur*, acerbissima quæque convicia in omni patientia, ac silentio perferre, et pro persequentibus, et calumniantibus Nos orare numquam omisimus. Verum cum debitores simus sapientibus, et insipientibus, omniumque saluti consulere debeamus, haud possumus, quin ad præcavendam præsertim infirmorum offensionem, in hoc vestro consensu a nobis rejiciamus falsissimam illam, et omnium terrarum calumniam, quæ contra personam humilitatis nostræ per recentissimas quasdam ephemeridas est evulgata. Etsi vero incredibili horrore affecti fuimus ubi illud commentum legimus, quo inimici homines nobis, et Apostolicæ Sedi grave vulnus inferre commoliuntur, tamen nullo modo vereri possumus, ne ejusmodi turpissima mendacia vel leviter offendere queant supremam illam veritatis Cathedram, et nos, qui nullo meritorum suffragio in ea collocati sumus. Et quidem singulari Dei misericordia divinis illis nostri Redemptoris verbis uti possumus *Ego palam loquutus sum mundo . . . et in occulto loquutus sum nihil*. Atque hic, venerabiles fratres, opportunitum ducimus ea ipsa iterum dicere et inculcare, quæ in nostra præsertim Allocutione ad vos die 17 Decembris anno 1847 habita declaravimus, inimicos scilicet homines, quo facilius veram germanamque catholicæ religionis doctrinam corrumpere, aliosque decipere, et in errorem inducere queant, omnia cominisci, omnia moliri, omnia conari, ut vel ipsa Apostolica Sedes eorum stultitiæ particeps et faulrix quodammodo appareat. Nemini autem ignotum est, quæ tenebrosissimæ, æque ac perniciosissimæ societates, et sectæ a fabricatoribus mendacii, et perversorum dogmatum cultoribus fuerint variis temporibus coactæ, et institutæ, ac variis nominibus appellatæ, quo eorum deliramenta, systemata, molimina in aliorum animos tutius instillarent, incautorum corda corrumpenter, ac latissimam quibusque sceleribus impune patrandis viam munirent. Quas abominabiles perditionis sectas non solum animarum saluti, verum etiam civilis societatis bono et tranquillitati vel maxime infestas, atque a Romanis Pontificibus Decorosibus Nostris damnatas Nos ipsi jugiter detestati sumus, ac Nostris Encyclicis Litteris die 9 Novembris anno 1846 ad universos Ecclesiæ Antistites datis condemnavimus, et nunc pariter suprema Nostra Apostolica auctoritate iterum damnamus, prohibemus, atque proscrībimus.

At hac Nostra Allocutione haud sane volumus vel omnes errores enumerare, quibus populi misere decepti ad tantas impelluntur ruinas, vel singulas percensere machinationes, quibus inimici homines, et catholica religionis perniciem moliri, et arcem Sion usquequaque impetere, et invadere contendunt. Quæ hactenus dolenter commemoravimus satis superque ostendunt ex perversis grassantibus doctrinis, atque ex justitiæ et religionis contemptu eas oriri calamitates et exitia, quibus nationes, et gentes tantopere jactantur. Ut igitur tanta amoveantur damna, nullis neque curis, neque consiliis, neque laboribus, neque vigiliis est parendum, quo tot perversis doctrinis radicitus evulsis, omnes intelligant, veram solidamque felicitatem virtutis, justitiæ, ac religionis exercitio inniti. Itaque et nobis, et vobis, atque aliis venerabilibus fratribus totius Catholici orbis Episcopis summa cura, studio, contentione in primis est allaborandum, ut fideles populi ab venenatis pascuis amoti, atque ad salutaria deducti, ac magis in dies nutriti verbis fidei et insidiantium hominum fraudes et fallacias agnoscant, devent, ac plane intelligentes, timorem Domini bonorum omnium esse fontem, et peccata atque iniquitates provocare Dei flagella, studiant declinare a malo, et facere bonum. Quocirca inter tantas angustias non levi certe lætitia perfundimur, cum noscimus quanta animi firmitate et constantia Venerabiles Fratres catholici orbis Antistites Nobis, et Petri Cathedræ firmiter addicti una cum obsequente sibi Clero ad Ecclesiæ causam tuendam, ejusque libertatem propugnandam strenue conitantur, et qua Sacerdotali cura et studio omnem impendant operam, quo et bonos magisque in bonitate confirmant, et errantes ad justitiæ semitas reducant, et perversos religionis hostes tum voce, tum scriptis

redarguant atque refellant. Dum notem has meritas debitasque laudes ipsis Venerabilibus Fratribus tribuere letamur, eisdem animos addimus, ut divino auxilio freti pergant alacriori usque zelo ministerium suum implere, ac præliari prælia Domini, et exaltare vocem in sapientia et fortitudine ad evangelizandam Jerusalem, ad sanandas contritiones Israel. Juxta hæc non desiccat adire eum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ, ac publicis, privatisque precibus insistere, et fidelibus populis sedulo inculcare, ut omnes ubique poenitentiam agant, quo misericordiam a Deo consequantur, et gratiam inveniant in auxilio opportuno. Nec vero intermittant viros ingenio, sanæque doctrinæ præstantes hortari, ut ipsi quoque sub eorum et Apostolicæ Sedis ductu populorum mentes illustrare, et serpentium errorum tenebras dissipare studeant.

Hic etiam carissimos in Christo Filios Nostros Populorum Principes et Rectores obtestamur in Domino, atque ab ipsis exposcimus ut serio ac sedulo considerantes quæ et quanta damna ex tot errorum ac vitiorum colluvie in civilem societatem redundent, omni cura, studio, consilio in id potissimum incumbere velint, ut veritas, justitia, religio ubique dominantur, ac majora in dies incrementa suscipiant. Atque universi populi, gentes, nationes, earumque Moderatores assidue ac diligenter cogitent et meditentur, omnia bona in justitiæ exercitio consistere, omnia vero mala ex iniquitate prodire. Ciquidem *justitia elecat gentem, miseros autem facit populos peccatum*.\*

Antequam autem dicendi finem faciamus, haud possumus, quin gratissimi animi nostri sensus illis omnibus carissimis atque amantissimis filiis palam publiceque testemur, qui de Nostris calamitatibus vehementer solliciti singulari prorsus erga Nos pietatis effectu suas Nobis oblationes mittere voluerunt. Etsi vero piæ hujusmodi largitiones non leve Nobis afferant solatium, tamen fateri debemus, paternum cor Nostrum non mediocri angustia, cum summopere timeamus, ne in tristissima hac rerum publicarum conditione iidem carissimi filii suæ in Nos caritati nimium indulgentes largitiones ipsas proprio etiam incommodo ac detrimento facere velint.

Denique, Venerabiles Fratres, Nos quidem investigabilibus sapientiæ Dei consiliis, quibus gloriam suam operatur, placè acquiescentes; dum in humilitate cordis Nostri maximas Deo agimus gratias, quod Nos dignos habuerit pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati, et aliqua ex parte conformes fieri imagini Passionis Ejus, parati sumus in omni fide, spe, patientia, et mansuetudine acerbissimos quosque labores, ærumnas perferre, atque ipsam animam Nostram pro Ecclesia ponere, si per Nostrum sanguinem ipsius Ecclesiæ calamitatibus consulere possemus. Interim vero, Venerabiles Fratres, ne intermittamus dies, noctesque assiduis fervidisque precibus divitem in misericordia Deum humiliter orare et obsecrare, ut per merita Unigeniti Filii sui omnipotenti suæ dextera Ecclesiam suam sanctam a tantis, quibus jactatur procellis, cripiat, utque divinæ suæ gratiæ lumine omnium errantium mentes illustret, et in multitudine misericordiæ suæ omnium prævaricantium corda expugnet, quo cunctis ubique erroribus depulsis cunctisque amotis adversitatibus, omnes veritatis, et justitiæ lucem adspiciant agnoscant atque occurrant in unitatem fidei, et agnitionis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi. Atque ab Ipso, qui facit pacem in sublimibus, quique est pax nostra, suppliciter etiam exposcere nunquam desinamus, ut malis omnibus, quibus christiana respublica vexatur, penitus avulsis, optatissimam ubique pacem, et tranquillitatem facere velit. Ut vero facilius annuat Deus precibus nostris suffragatores apud Eum adhibeamus, atque in primis Sanctissimam immaculatam Virginem Mariam, quæ Dei mater, et nostra, quæque mater misericordiæ, quod quærit inveoit, et frustrari non potest. Suffragia quoque imploremus Beati Petri Apostolorum Principis, et Coapostoli ejus Pauli, omniumque Sanctorum cœlitum, qui jam facti amici Dei cum ipso regnant in cœlis, ut clementissimus Dominus, eorum intervenientibus meritis ac precibus, fidelem populum ab iracundiæ suæ terroribus liberet, semperque protegat, ac divinæ suæ propitiationis abundantia lætificet.

(Translation.)

Venerable Brothers,

NO one assuredly is ignorant with what terrible storms our Pontifical States and almost the whole of Italy are, to the extreme grief of our soul, miserably tossed and agitated. And would that men, taught by these most

\* Prov. c. xiv. v. 34.

lamentable revolutions, may at last understand that nothing can be more pernicious to themselves than to diverge from the paths of truth, justice, virtue, and religion, and to acquiesce in the detestable counsels of the impious, and to be deceived and entangled by their machinations, frauds, and errors! Indeed, the whole world well knows and testifies how great was the solicitude which was felt by our paternal and most loving heart in providing for the true and solid profit, tranquillity, and prosperity of our Pontifical States, and what was the fruit reaped by that our great indulgence and love. Yet by these words we only condemn the crafty workers of these great evils, without desiring to attribute any blame to the majority of the people. Nevertheless, we are obliged to lament that many even of the people have been so miserably deceived, that, turning away their ears from our words and admonitions, they yield themselves to the fallacious doctrines of certain teachers, who, leaving *the right way and walking by dark ways* (Prov. ii. 13), minded this only, that by magnificent and false promises they might lead onwards and drive headlong the minds and hearts especially of inexperienced men, into fraud and error. All assuredly know with what transports of applause that memorable and ample amnesty was everywhere celebrated granted by us which was to secure the peace, tranquillity, and happiness of families. Nor is any one ignorant that several of those who were favoured by that amnesty not only did not fulfil our expectations, by making the least change in their minds, but that carrying on their designs and machinations, with daily increasing vehemence, there was nothing they did not dare, nothing they did not attempt, in order (as they had long plotted) to undermine and utterly to overthrow the civil sovereignty of the Roman Pontiff and his Government, and at the same time carry on a most bitter warfare against our most holy religion. But that they might the easier achieve this, they took especial care in the first place to call together the multitudes, to influence and agitate them by great and incessant movements, which, even taking advantage of our concessions as a pretext, they studied with their utmost power constantly to foment, and day by day to increase. Hence the concessions freely and willingly granted by us in the very beginning of our Pontificate, not only could never yield the wished-for fruits, but could not even take root, because those crafty architects of deceit abused the same to the exciting of new agitations. And these facts, Venerable Brothers, have we deemed it fit briefly to touch upon, and rapidly to review with this intention, that all men of good-will may clearly and openly know what the enemies of God and of the human race intend and desire, and what they have always fixed and determined in their minds.

Our singular affection towards our subjects, Venerable Brothers, made us feel vehement grief and distress, when we perceived that those constant popular movements were so adverse both to public tranquillity and order, and also to the private quietness and peace of families; nor were we able to endure those frequent pecuniary collections which were demanded on various pretexts, not without great inconvenience and expense to the citizens. Therefore, in the month of April 1847, by a public edict of our Cardinal Secretary of State, we admonished all to abstain from such popular assemblages and subscriptions, and again to direct their minds to their own affairs, to repose all confidence in us, and to feel assured that our paternal cares and anxieties were alone directed to provide for the public good, as we had already shown by many most evident proofs. But these our salutary admonitions, whereby we endeavoured to calm these great popular movements, and to recal the people themselves to pursuits of peace and tranquillity, were exceedingly opposed to the bad desires and machinations of certain men. Accordingly, those unwearied authors of agitation, who had already resisted another edict, issued by our order by the same Cardinal, for promoting the good and useful education of the people, were scarcely aware of our admonition, when they began everywhere to exclaim against it, and with a more embittered zeal to agitate the incautious multitudes, and most craftily to insinuate, and to persuade them never to yield themselves to that tranquillity which we so much desired, as there lay hid under it an insidious design of lulling the people to sleep, so that hereafter they might the more easily be oppressed by the hard yoke of slavery. And from that time numerous writings, even in print, filled with all sorts of most bitter contumelies, reproaches and threats, were sent to us, which we have buried in eternal oblivion and committed to the flames. But that our enemies might procure some belief in those false dangers which they loudly declared were impending on the people, they



ventured to scatter abroad a rumour and fear of a certain pretended conspiracy forged and got up by themselves, and to vociferate, by a detestable falsehood, that such conspiracy was entered upon with the object of devastating the city of Rome with civil war, assassinations and carnage; that the new institutions being altogether taken away and destroyed, the old form of government might again be revived. But by the false pretext of this conspiracy, our enemies had the intention wickedly to excite and provoke the contempt, jealousy, and fury of the people against certain most illustrious men, eminent for their virtue and religion, and also of exalted ecclesiastical dignity. You are aware that in the midst of this tumult of affairs the Civic Guard was proposed, and assembled with such celerity that provision could by no means be made for its proper institution and discipline.

When first, for the greater furtherance of the prosperity of the public administration, we deemed it convenient to institute a Council of State, our adversaries immediately seized on the opportunity of inflicting new wounds on the Government, and at the same time of contriving that such institution, which might have been of great utility to the public interests, should turn out to their loss and detriment; and since the notion had now prevailed with impunity, that by that institution both the character and nature of the Pontifical Government was changed, and our authority subjected to the judgment of the Consultors, we, therefore, on the very day that the Council of State was inaugurated, did not neglect seriously to admonish with grave and severe words certain turbulent men who accompanied the Consultors, and clearly and openly to manifest to them the true end of this institution. But the factious did not cease with yet greater impetuosity to agitate the deluded part of the people, and in order that they might the more easily gather together and increase the number of their followers, they did, with signal shamelessness and audacity spread abroad, both in our own Pontifical States and also in foreign nations, the assertion that we entirely assented to their opinions and designs. You remember, Venerable Brothers, with what language, in our Consistorial Allocation pronounced before you on October 4, 1847, we seriously admonished and exhorted the people most vigilantly to be on their guard against the perfidy of these traitors. Meanwhile, however, the obstinate authors of plots and agitations, in order that they might continually feed and excite fears and disturbances, did in the January of last year alarm the minds of the incautious by an idle rumour of foreign war, and spread it abroad among the people that the same war would be fomented and sustained by domestic machinations and the malevolent inertness of the rulers. In order to tranquillise the public mind and repel the insidious schemes of the traitors, we without any delay did on the 10th of February in the same year declare that those rumours were altogether false and absurd, in terms which every one knows. And at that time we warned our most dear subjects of what will by God's help now take place, namely, that it would come to pass that innumerable sons would fly to defend the house of the common Father of all the Faithful, that is to say, the States of the Church, if those most stringent bonds of gratitude, whereby the Princes and people of Italy ought to be intimately bound to each other, should come to be dissolved, and the people themselves forget to reverence the wisdom of their Princes and the sanctity of their rights, and to maintain and defend the same with all their force.

Although, however, these words of ours just alluded to brought tranquillity for a short interval of time to all those whose wills were opposed to continual disturbance, still they prevailed nothing with the irreconcilable enemies of the Church and of human society, who had already excited new agitations and new tumults. Forasmuch as, insisting on the calumnies which by them and by those like them had been disseminated against religious men devoted to the divine ministry, and deserving well of the Church, they excited and inflamed the popular fury with all its violence against them. Nor are you ignorant, Venerable Brothers, that those words were of no avail which we addressed to the people on the 10th of March last year, wherein with great efforts we endeavoured to rescue that religious family from exile and dispersion.

And as, whilst all this was going on, the revolutions so well known to all, broke out in Italy and throughout Europe, we once more, lifting up our Apostolic voice on the 30th March of the same year, did not neglect again and again to admonish and exhort all nations that they should both study to respect the liberty of the Catholic Church and to protect the order of civil

society, and to follow up the precepts of our most holy religion, and above all to exercise Christian charity to all men, since if they neglected to do this, they might hold it for certain that God would show that He was the Ruler of the people.

To proceed: every one of you knows well how the form of Constitutional Government was brought into Italy; and how a statute granted by us to our subjects was published on the 14th of March last year. But as the implacable enemies of public tranquillity and order had nothing so much at heart as to attempt everything against the Pontifical Government, and to agitate the people by constant movements and suspicions, they never ceased, whether by published writings, or clubs, or associations, or other acts of whatever kind, atrociously to calumniate the Government, and to fix on it the mark of inertness, of deceit and fraud, although the Government itself was applying with all care and diligence to this object, that the Statute, so much longed-for, might be put into operation with as much celerity as possible. And here we desire to publish to the whole world that at that very time, those men, persevering in their design of subverting the Pontifical dominion and the whole of Italy, proposed to us the proclamation, no longer of a Constitution, but of a Republic, as the only refuge and defence both of our own safety and of the Ecclesiastical State. That nocturnal hour is still present to our mind, and we have before our eyes certain men who, miserably deluded and deceived by the architects of deceit, did not hesitate to take part in that affair, and to propose to us the proclamation of a Republic. Which indeed, in addition to numberless other most weighty arguments, demonstrates that the petitions for new institutions and the projects so loudly vaunted by men of such sort, have no other object in view than to foment incessant agitation; that all the principles of justice, virtue, honour, and religion may be everywhere totally swept away, and the horrible and most lamentable system which they style *Socialism* or *Communism*, entirely adverse as it is even to reason and the law of nature, may, to the greatest detriment and ruin of the whole of human society, in all directions, be spread and propagated, and prevail everywhere.

But although this most abominable conspiracy, or rather this daily series of conspiracies, was clear and manifest, still, by the permission of God, it was unknown to many of those, who ought indeed, for so many causes, to have had the common tranquillity at heart. And although the unwearied authors of disturbances acted most suspiciously, still there were not wanting certain well-meaning men, who held out a friendly hand to them, resting probably on the hope that they might be able to bring them back to the path of moderation and justice.

Meanwhile a cry of war suddenly pervaded the whole of Italy, which excited and carried away a part of the subjects of our Pontifical dominions, who flew to arms, and resisting our will, desired to cross the frontiers of the Pontifical States. You know, Venerable Brothers, how in fulfilment of the duties both of a Sovereign Pontiff and Prince, we resisted the unjust desires of those men who sought to drag us on to wage that war, and who demanded that an inexperienced band of youths, recruited in a hasty manner, devoid of all practice in the military art, undisciplined, and destitute of capable leaders and munitions of war, should be sent forth by us to the combat, that is, to certain slaughter. And this was demanded of us, who, having been raised, although unworthy, by the inscrutable counsels of Divine Providence to the height of Apostolical dignity, and who, exercising here on earth the Vicariate of Jesus Christ, who is the author of peace and lover of charity, have received the mission to embrace all peoples, nations, and tribes with the equal zeal of paternal love, and to consult with all our power for the salvation of all, and not to drive men to carnage and death. But if no Princes whatsoever can undertake a war, except for just reasons, who can there be ever so devoid of judgment and reason as not clearly to perceive, that the Catholic world would have the amplest right to demand on the part of the Roman Pontiff a much higher justice, and more weighty reasons, if it saw the Pontiff himself declare or wage war against any one? Wherefore, in our allocution delivered to you on April 29th of last year, we openly and publicly declared that we had nothing whatsoever to do with the war. And at the same time we repudiated and rejected a most deeply insidious proffer which was made to us, both in writing and by word of mouth, a proffer not only most injurious to our person, but also most pernicious to Italy; namely, that we

should consent to preside over the Government of a certain "Republic of Italy." Thus, by the singular compassion of God, we indeed sought to fulfil that most weighty office laid before us by God himself, of speaking, of admonishing, and of exhorting, and we accordingly trust that that reproach of Isaiah cannot be brought against us: "*Woe is me, because I have held my peace.*" (Is. vi. 5.) But would that all our children had lent an ear to our paternal words, admonitions, and exhortations!

You remember, Venerable Brothers, what clamours and tumults were excited by most turbulent and factious men, after the allocation we have just mentioned, and how a civil Ministry was imposed upon us, utterly adverse both to our views and principles, and also to the rights of the Apostolic See. We indeed foresaw in our mind that the issue of the Italian war would be unfortunate, when one of those Ministers did not hesitate to declare that the same war would last, even in spite of our unwillingness and resistance, and without the Pontifical blessing. And that Minister, doing a most grave injury to the Apostolic See, did not fear to propose that the civil sovereignty of the Roman Pontiff should be altogether separated from this spiritual power. Not long afterwards the self-same man ventured openly to assert things of us which would in a manner cast the Supreme Pontiff out of the society of the human race, and dis sever him therefrom. Our just and merciful Lord willed to humble us under His mighty hand, when He permitted that for many months truth on this part, and falsehood on that, should contend in a fierce conflict with each other; an end was put to this by the election of a new Ministry, which afterwards was displaced by another, in which the praise of talent was united to a special zeal both for the preservation of public order and for the observation of the laws. But the unrestrained license and audacity of had passions, raising its head higher and higher every day, pursued its career of destruction, and the enemies of God and of man, inflamed with a lasting and savage thirst of domineering, devastating, and destroying, were longing now for nothing else than to subvert all laws, divine and human, in order that they might satiate their desires. Hence, the machinations which had long been prepared beforehand, hurst out openly and publicly, the streets were sprinkled with human blood, sacrileges never sufficiently to be deplored were committed, and unheard-of violence in our very Quirinal Palace, done with profane daring to ourselves.

Since, therefore, under the oppression of such great difficulties we could not freely discharge the duties of a Pontiff, much less of a Prince, we felt it our duty, not without great bitterness of mind, to depart from our See. We abstain from again recapitulating those most lamentable events, related in our public protestations, lest our general grief be renewed by their mournful remembrance. But when the seditious knew of our protestations, they were infuriated with greater audacity, and making all sorts of menaces against all, they spared no kind of fraud, or deceit, or violence more and more to terrify all the good who were already prostrated with fear. And after they had introduced that new form of government, called by themselves *Giunta di Stato*, and had altogether done away with the two Councils instituted by us, they laboured with all their power to assemble a new Council, which they chose to call by the name of the *Roman Constituent*. The mind shrinks from stating the magnitude and number of the frauds which they made use of to bring this matter to an issue. But here we cannot refrain from giving just praises to the greater part of the magistrates of the Pontifical States, who, mindful of their own honour and duty, preferred to resign their office rather than in any way to lend a hand to the work by which their Prince and most loving Father was being spoiled of his legitimate civil sovereignty. But that Council was at length brought together, and a certain Roman advocate, in the very beginning of his first speech delivered to those who were assembled, clearly and openly declared to all the thoughts, wishes, and views of himself and his companions, the other authors of this horrible agitation. "The law," said he, "of moral progress is imperious and inexorable." And he at the same time added that himself and the rest had long had it fixed in their minds to overturn from its foundation the temporal dominion and government of the Holy See, even though their desires had been in every way seconded by us. And this declaration we desire to commemorate in your Assembly, that all may understand that such perverse intention was not attributed by us to the authors of the disturbances from any conjecture or suspicion, but that it was openly and publicly manifested to the whole universe by them-

selves, whom shame itself ought to have deterred from making such a declaration. It was not, then, more liberal institutions, nor a more advantageous system of public administration, nor wise regulations of whatever kind, which these men were seeking after, but what they wished was, to attack, to tear up by the roots, and utterly to destroy the civil sovereignty and power of the Apostolic See. And this design, so far as depended on themselves, they brought to a conclusion by that decree of the Roman *Constituent* (as they call it) published on February 9th of this year, in which, we know not whether with greater injustice to the rights of the Roman Church, and the liberty of fulfilling of the Apostolic Office thereto appertaining, or with greater loss and calamity to the subjects of the Pontifical State, they declared that the Roman Pontiffs had fallen from temporal dominion both in law and in fact. With no slight sorrow, Venerable Brothers, did such deplorable events overwhelm us, and for this above all do we chiefly grieve, that the city of Rome, the centre of Catholic truth and unity, the mistress of virtue and holiness, doth by means of the impious men who are daily flocking thither, appear to all people, nations, and tribes, to be the author of such calamities. However, in the midst of such our great grief of heart, it is most grateful to us to be able to affirm that by far the greatest part both of the Roman people and of the other inhabitants of our Pontifical States remain constantly attached to us and to the Apostolic See, and have abhorred those nefarious machinations, though they have been spectators of so many disastrous events. We have also found the greatest consolation in the solicitude of the Bishops and Clergy of our Pontifical States, who in the midst of dangers and difficulties of every kind, have not ceased to discharge the duties of their ministry and office, in drawing aside the people, both by word and example, from those agitations and wicked designs of factious men.

We, certainly, in the midst of such a crisis and struggle, left nothing unattempted to provide for the public tranquillity and order. For a long time before those most deplorable events of November took place, we made every effort that the Swiss forces in the service of the Apostolic See, and quartered in our provinces, should be brought to the city; but this matter, contrary to our intentions, was not carried into execution, in consequence of the resistance of those who in the month of May held the office of Ministers. Nor was that all, but even before that time, as well as after, we directed our attention to assemble other military forces, both for the preservation of public order, especially at Rome, and for restraining the audacity of our enemies; but these, God so permitting it, failed us, in consequence of the vicissitudes of the circumstances and times. Lastly, after the most mournful events of November, we did not neglect, in our letters dated January 5th, again and again to inculcate on all our native-born soldiers to keep their sworn faith to their Prince, mindful of religion and of military honour, and diligently to endeavour everywhere to maintain public tranquillity as well as due obedience and devotion to the legitimate Government. We further ordered our Swiss troops to march to Rome, but they did not obey our orders, as, above all, the Commander-in-chief of those forces did not in this business conduct himself rightly or honourably.

And meanwhile the chiefs of the faction, pursuing their work with daily increasing audacity and vehemence, did not cease to lacerate our person and those who are attached to us, with horrible calumnies and contumelies of every kind, and they did not hesitate wickedly to abuse the very words and sentences of the Most Holy Gospel, in order that coming in the clothing of sheep, though inwardly they are ravening wolves, they might lead the ignorant multitude into all their perverse designs and machinations, and might imbue the ears of the incautious with false doctrines. But the subjects who remained attached with immovable fidelity to us, and to the temporal dominion of the Apostolic See, reasonably and justly demanded of us that we should deliver them from those many most grievous difficulties, dangers, calamities, and losses, with which they were surrounded on every side. And since some are to be found amongst them who consider us as the cause (however innocent) of such great agitations, we would desire them to observe that we indeed, the moment we were raised to the Supreme Apostolic See, certainly directed our paternal anxieties and views, as we have above declared, to this end, that we should bring, by all our efforts, the people of our Pontifical States into a better condition; but that it came to pass, by the means of turbulent adversaries, that those views of ours were disappointed, whilst, on the other hand, God so permitting it, the seditious themselves

were enabled to bring to completion the projects which for a long time previously they had never ceased to plot and to essay with all the arts of wickedness. Therefore, what we have already elsewhere said, the same we now repeat, to wit, that in this grievous and deplorable tempest wherewith almost the whole world is so shaken, the hand of God is to be acknowledged, and His voice to be heard, Who is wont with such scourges to punish the sins and iniquities of men that they may hasten to return to the paths of justice. Let them therefore hear His voice who have strayed from the truth, and leaving their own ways, let them be converted to the Lord; let those also hear it who in this most lamentable state of affairs are more solicitous for their private interests than for the good of the Church and the well-being of Catholicity, and let them remember that it will not profit a man, "if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul;" let also the pious sons of the Church hear it, and waiting with patience for the salvation of God, and with greater zeal every day cleansing their consciences from all defilement of sin, let them strive to implore the mercies of the Lord, and more and more to please Him, and continually to serve Him.

And in the midst of these our ardent desires we cannot but specially admonish and reprove those who applaud that decree whereby the Roman Pontiff has been deprived of all the honour and dignity of his civil power, and who assert that the same decree is even very conducive to the furtherance of the liberty and happiness of the Church itself. But here we openly and publicly declare that we say not these things from any desire of domination, or any longing after temporal sovereignty, seeing that our disposition and frame of mind is altogether alien from any spirit of domination. Nevertheless, the duty of our office requires, that in maintaining the civil sovereignty of the Apostolic See, we defend with all our might the rights and possessions of the Holy Roman Church, and the liberty of the said See, which is conjoined with the liberty and advantage of the whole Church. And those men truly, who in their applause of the aforesaid decree, assert things so false and absurd, are either ignorant or pretend to be ignorant that it came to pass by a most singular counsel of Divine Providence; that when the Roman Empire was divided into several kingdoms and various states, the Roman Pontiff, unto whom was committed by Christ the Lord the government and care of the whole Church, had a civil sovereignty for this reason assuredly, that in order to rule the Church and to maintain its unity, he might enjoy that plenitude of liberty which is required for the discharge of the office of the Supreme Apostolic Ministry. For it is manifest to all, that the people, nations, and kingdoms would never accord to him their full confidence and obedience if they perceived that he was subject to the dominion of any Prince or Government, and by no means in the possession of his liberty. The faithful people and kingdoms would never cease vehemently to suspect and to fear lest the same Pontiff should conform his acts to the will of the Prince or Government in whose State he was sojourning, and therefore would not hesitate on this pretext, often to oppose his acts. And indeed let the very enemies of the civil sovereignty of the Apostolic See, who now rule at Rome—let them say with what confidence and obedience they themselves would receive the exhortations, admonitions, mandates, and constitutions of the Sovereign Pontiff, if they knew him to be subject to the will of some Prince or Government, but especially if he were subject to any Prince, between whom and the Roman State any prolonged war was being carried on?

Meanwhile there is no one who does not see with how many grievous wounds the Immaculate Sponse of Christ is now assailed in the very regions of the Pontifical State; with what chains, with what most shameful servitude she is more and more oppressed, and with what difficulties her visible Head is overwhelmed. For who is ignorant that our communications with the city of Rome and with its clergy, most dear to us, and with the whole episcopate and the other faithful of the Pontifical dominion, has been so obstructed, that we cannot freely send or receive even letters, although treating of ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs? Who knows not that the city of Rome, the principal See of the Catholic Church, is at present—O sorrowful!—made a forest of roaring wild beasts, since it is filled with men of all nations, who being either apostates, or heretics, or adherents of the so-called *Communism* or *Socialism*, and animated with extreme hatred against the Catholic truth, do both by writings and every other means, endeavour to teach and disseminate all kinds of pestiferous errors, and to pervert the minds and hearts of all, so that in the very city itself, if it were

possible, the holiness of the Catholic religion, and the unchangeable rule of faith may be deprived? Who knows not, or has not heard, that in the Pontifical State, the goods, revenues, and possessions of the Church have been seized with rash and sacrilegious daring, the most august churches stripped of their ornaments, the monasteries turned to profane uses; the virgins consecrated to God harassed; the most virtuous and distinguished ecclesiastics and religious cruelly persecuted, put in chains, and slain; the sacred and most illustrious Bishops, even those invested with the dignity of the Cardinalate, violently dragged away from their flocks and thrown into dungeons?

And these assaults against the Church, her laws and liberty, are done both in the Pontifical States and in other countries wherever these men, or men like them, hold sway, at the very time when the same persons are proclaiming liberty in all directions, and pretend that it is their desire that the Supreme Pontiff should be altogether freed from all shackles, and enjoy entire liberty.

Further, it is manifest to all men in how miserable and deplorable a condition our most dear subjects are placed by means of the same men who are committing such flagitious crimes against the Church. For the public treasury is wasted and exhausted; commerce interrupted and nearly annihilated; vast sums of money levied on the principal citizens and others; the goods of private persons robbed by those men who call themselves the chiefs of the people, and commanders of lawless hands; the liberty of all good men disturbed, and their security extremely endangered, and their very life subjected to the assassin's dagger; and other very great and grievous evils and losses, whereby continually the citizens are so afflicted and terrified. These, forsooth, are the beginnings of that prosperity which the haters of the Sovereign Pontificate announce and promise to the people of the Pontifical States.

Therefore, amidst the great and incredible grief wherewith we were in our inmost heart tormented, because of the great calamities of the Church and of the people of our Pontifical States, we, well knowing that the duty of our office demanded by all means that we should make every effort to remove and drive away those calamities, neglected not, as early as the 4th of December last year, to implore and solicit the aid and assistance of all Princes and nations. And we cannot refrain, Venerable Brothers, from communicating to you at this moment, the singular consolation which we received, when the said Princes, and even those nations which are in nowise united to us in the bonds of Catholic unity, studied in the most striking manner indeed to testify and declare their most eager good-will towards us. Which thing, indeed, while it most wonderfully soothes and consoles the very bitter grief of our heart, doth more and more demonstrate how God is always watching propitiously over His Holy Church. And we are encouraged to hope that it will come to pass that all shall understand, that those most grievous evils wherewith, in these times of great severity, people and kingdoms are troubled, have derived their origin from the contempt of our Most Holy Religion, nor can obtain remedy and consolation from any other source but from the divine doctrine of Christ, and from His Holy Church, which being the fruitful parent and nurse of all virtues, and the expeller of vices, whilst she forms mankind to all truth and justice, and binds them together unto mutual charity, doth, after a most admirable manner, consult and provide for the public good and order of civil society.

But after having implored the assistance of all Princes, we more willingly sought for succour from Austria, which country is the nearest to our Pontifical States on the north, for this reason, that she not only has always displayed the most distinguished zeal in defending the temporal dominions of the Apostolic See, but also that there is now assuredly ground to hope that according to our most ardent wishes and most just demands, certain well-known principles, ever disapproved of by the Apostolic See, will be abandoned by that empire, and that the Church in those parts will consequently be restored to her liberty, to the great good and advantage of the faithful who dwell therein. And whilst we intimate this, with no ordinary feelings of consolation in our own heart, we doubt not but that it will give no slight joy to yourselves.

We demanded the same assistance from the French nation, for whom a singular kindness and affection is entertained by our paternal heart, since the clergy and faithful people of that nation studied by all manner of manifestations of filial devotion and observance, to assuage and console our calamities and anguish.

We also called for assistance from Spain, a country which being deeply anxious and solicitous on account of our troubles, first roused other Catholic nations to enter on a certain filial compact with each other to strive to bring back to his own See the common Father of the Faithful and Supreme Pastor of the Church.

Lastly, we sought for this help from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, in which we are hospitably entertained by its King, who, endeavouring with all his power to promote the true and solid happiness of his people, shines forth with such religion and piety, that he may furnish an example to his own subjects. But, although by no language can we express with what care and zeal the aforesaid Prince delights to testify and confirm his singular filial devotion towards us by all manner of good offices and noble acts, still no forgetfulness shall ever obliterate the illustrious deserts of that Prince towards us. And in nowise can we pass over in silence the marks of piety, affection, and dutifulness with which the clergy and people of the same kingdom have never ceased to attend us, from the moment when we entered the territory.

We are therefore encouraged to hope that it will come to pass, by God's assistance, that those Catholic nations, having before their eyes the cause of the Church and of its Supreme Pontiff, the common Father of all the Faithful, will make all speed to vindicate the civil sovereignty of the Apostolic See, and to restore peace and tranquillity to our subjects; and we are confident that the enemies of our most holy religion and of civil society will be driven away from the city of Rome and from the whole State of the Church. Whenever that shall take place, it will be our part certainly with all vigilance, zeal, and solicitude to drive away all those errors and grievous scandals, which in common with all good men, we are bound so vehemently to deplore. And in the first place, must it chiefly be cared for, that the minds of men, deceived after a miserable manner by the lies, insidious devices, and frauds of the impious, may be illuminated with the light of eternal truth, whereby the men themselves may be excited and inflamed to embrace the paths of virtue, justice, and religion. For you well know, Venerable Brothers, those horrible and monstrous opinions of all kinds, which, emerging from the bottomless pit for ruin and devastation, have prevailed and are now raging far and wide, to the heavy detriment of religion and civil society. Which perverse and pestilent doctrines the enemies are never ceasing, whether by word, or writing, or public spectacles, to disseminate among the vulgar, in order that the unbridled licentiousness of all kinds of impiety, cupidity and lust, may daily more and more be increased and propagated. Hence truly have arisen all those calamities, destructions, and woes which the human race almost over the whole globe have had so heavily to mourn and are still mourning.

Nor are you ignorant what description of war is now being waged even in Italy itself against our most holy religion, and with what detestable frauds and machinations the enemies of religion and of civil society are endeavouring to draw away the minds, especially of the ignorant, from the sanctity of the Faith and sound doctrine, and to plunge them into raging floods of infidelity, and to drive them to accomplish all sorts of most frightful crimes. And that they may be enabled the more easily to bring their designs to an issue, and to excite and ferment all the horrible agitations of sedition and disturbance, treading in the steps of the heretics and altogether despising the supreme authority of the Church, they in nowise hesitate to appeal to, interpret, invert, and distort in their own private and erroneous acceptance, the words, testimonies, and sentences of the sacred Scriptures, and they fear not, with extreme impiety, wickedly to abuse the most holy name of Christ. Nor are they ashamed publicly and openly to assert that the violation of any oath, however solemn, and the commission of any flagitious and detestable actions whatsoever, even if repugnant to the law of nature itself, is not only not to be condemned, but is even altogether lawful, and to be extolled with the highest praises, when the same is done for the love of country, as they say. By which impious and perverse mode of arguing, all honour, virtue, and justice is by this class of men utterly swept away, and the abhorred principles of action of the very robber and assassin are with unheard-of shamelessness maintained and commended.

Besides the other innumerable frauds which the enemies of the Catholic Church continually use that they may tear away and carry off the ignorant

and incautious especially from the bosom of the Church itself, there are added most bitter and odious calumnies, which they do not blush to invent, and therewith to assail our person. We indeed, holding, though by no merits of our own, here on earth the vicariate of Him who when he was reviled, did not revile; when He suffered, did not threaten, have never neglected to bear all the bitterest calumnies with all patience and silence, and to pray for those who persecute and calumniate us. But since we are debtors to the wise and to the foolish, and are bound to consult for the salvation of all, we, in order to avoid giving offence, especially to the weak, cannot refrain in this your Assembly from repelling that most false and odious calumny of all which has been published in some very recent papers against the person of our humility. But although we felt incredible horror when we read that libel, whereby the enemies seek to inflict a grievous wound upon us and the Apostolic See, still we can in no wise fear that such odious falsehoods can do even a slight mischief to that Supremo Chair of Truth, or to us, who by the help of no merits of ours have been placed therein. And indeed by the singular mercy of God, we are enabled to use those divine words of our Redeemer—"I have spoken openly to the world . . . . and in secret I have spoken nothing." And here, Venerable Brothers, we judge it convenient again to repeat and inculcate those very things which we declared especially in our Allocution delivered to you on December 17th in the year 1847, namely, that our enemies, that they may be able the more easily to corrupt the true and genuine doctrine of the Catholic religion, and to deceive others and to lead them into error, devise all manner of falsehoods, try all manoeuvres and endeavours, in order that even the very Apostolic See may appear in some sort to partake in and to favour their madness. But no one is ignorant what most pernicious sects and societies, lurking in darkness, have been at different times got together, instituted, and variously denominated by the workers of falsehood and the propagators of perverse opinions, by the means of which they might the more safely instil their extravagances, systems, and machinations into the minds of others, might corrupt the incautious, and open out a most broad path for the commission of all manner of crimes with impunity. Which abominable sects of perdition, utterly hostile not only to the salvation of souls but also to the good and tranquillity of civil society, and condemned by the Roman Pontiffs our predecessors, we ourselves have constantly detested, and by our Encyclic Letter dated November 9th in the year 1846, and addressed to all the Bishops of the Catholic Church, we have condemned, and do now in like manner, by our Supreme Apostolic authority, again condemn, prohibit, and proscribe.

But in this our Allocution we have assuredly not intended either to enumerate all the errors by which the people, being miserably deceived, are driven to such ruin, or to go over all the machinations whereby the enemies are stirring to devise mischief to the Catholic religion and to assault and invade to the uttermost the citadel of Sion. The matters which we have so far sorrowfully commemorated do manifest sufficiently, and more than sufficiently, that these calamities and disasters with which nations and people are so cruelly agitated, spring from the progress of perverse doctrines and from the contempt of justice and religion. In order, therefore, that such great evils may be removed, it is necessary that neither pains, nor counsels, nor labours, nor watchings be spared, to the end that these many perverse doctrines being plucked up by the roots, all may understand that true and solid happiness rests upon the exercise of virtue, justice, and religion. So that both we ourselves, and you, and our other Venerable Brothers, the Bishops of the whole Catholic world, must above all things labour with extreme care, zeal, and perseverance, that the faithful people may be removed from poisoned pastures, and led to those that are salutary; and that being daily more and more nourished with the words of faith, they may both perceive and avoid the frauds and fallacies of insidious men; and plainly understanding that the fear of the Lord is the fountain of all good things, and that sins and iniquities provoke the scourges of God, they may study with all care to decline from evil and to do good. For which reason, in the midst of such anguish, certainly no slight joy is diffused over our mind when we observe with what firmness of mind and constancy our Venerable Brothers, the Bishops of the Catholic world, firmly attached to us and to the Chair of Peter, along with their dutiful clergy, do strenuously labour to maintain



the cause of the Church and to defend its liberty; and with what priestly care and zeal they bestow all their pains, that they may both more and more confirm the good in their goodness, and may bring back wanderers to the ways of justice, and may reprove and confute, both by word of mouth and by writing, the obstinate enemies of religion. But whilst we rejoice to pay those due and merited praises to those venerable brothers, we encourage them, that trusting on the Divine assistance, they may proceed even with more and more cheerful zeal to fulfil their ministry, and to fight the battles of the Lord, and exalt their voice in wisdom and strength, to evangelize Jerusalem and to heal the sorrows of Israel. Furthermore, let them not cease to approach the throne of Grace with confidence, and to persevere in public and private prayer, and sedulously to inculcate to the faithful people that they all everywhere be penitent, in order that they may obtain mercy from the Lord and find grace in the opportune season. Nor let them neglect to exhort men who excel in abilities and in sound doctrine, that they also may study, under their guidance and that of the Apostolic See, to enlighten the minds of the people, and to dissipate the darkness of the errors that are creeping on.

Here, also, we beseech in the Lord, and demand of our most dear sons in Christ, the Princes and Rulers of peoples, that, seriously and sedulously considering the number and magnitude of the evils which redound upon civil society from such a mass of errors and vices, they may apply themselves with all care, zeal, and prudence, above all to this object, that virtue, justice, and religion, may everywhere prevail, and receive more increase day by day. And let all peoples, nations and tribes, and their rulers, assiduously and diligently consider and reflect that all good things consist in the exercise of justice, but that all evil things proceed from iniquity. For "*justice exalteth a nation, but sin maketh nations miserable.*"—(Prov. xiv. 34.)

But before we make an end of speaking, we cannot refrain from openly and publicly testifying our feelings of great gratitude to all those our most loving and dear children who, being vehemently solicitous regarding our calamities, chose with a truly singular and affectionate piety towards us, to send us their offerings. Although, however, this pious liberality imparts to us no slight consolation, still we must confess that our paternal heart is affected with no ordinary distress, since we exceedingly fear that in this most lamentable state of public affairs our aforesaid most dear children, indulging their love for us overmuch, are willing to make those gifts even to their own loss and detriment.

Lastly, Venerable Brothers, entirely acquiescing in the impenetrable counsels of the wisdom of God, whereby He works His glory, whilst in the humility of our heart we offer up the greatest thanks to God for having judged us worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus, and to be made in some measure conformable to the Image of His Passion, we are ready in all faith, hope, patience, and meekness, to endure all bitterest labours and pangs, and to lay down our life itself for the Church, if by our blood we might be able to remedy the calamities of the Church itself. But in the meantime, Venerable Brothers, let us not intermit day and night, with assiduous and fervent prayer, humbly to pray of God rich in mercy, and to entreat of Him, that through the merits of His only-begotten Son, He may by His almighty arm deliver His Holy Church from those great storms by which it is agitated; and that by the illumination of His divine grace He may enlighten the minds of all who go astray, and in the multitude of His mercy may vanquish the hearts of all the rebellious, that, all errors everywhere being driven away, and all adversities removed, all men may perceive and acknowledge the light of justice and truth, and may run in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. And of Him, who maketh peace in high places, and who is our peace, let us never neglect suppliantly to entreat, that all the evils wherewith the Christian Republic is troubled, being utterly rooted up, He may deign everywhere to establish the peace and tranquillity so ardently longed for. But that God may more readily grant our prayers, let us have recourse to intercessors with Him, and above all, to the Most Holy and Immaculate Virgin Mary, who, being the Mother of God, and our Mother, and the Mother of Mercy, finds what She seeks, and cannot be disappointed. Let us also implore the suffrages of the Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and of his fellow Apostle Paul, and of all the Saints in heaven, who, being made friends of God, now reign with him in

heaven, that the most merciful Lord, by the intervention of their merits and prayers, may deliver the faithful people from the terrors of His anger, and may always protect them, and make them joyful with the abundance of His Divine propitiation.

No. 93.

*Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Freeborn.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, July 23, 1849.*

I HAVE received your despatch of the 4th instant, reporting that the French army under General Oudinot had obtained possession of the city of Rome, and that you had thought proper to give your passport, as a British Consular Agent, to about 500 individuals not British subjects, to come to England, although, as you admit, you were not authorized by your instructions to grant such passports. I have now to state to you that as a general rule, no British officer abroad should give a British passport to a foreigner, because no passport is necessary to enable a foreigner to land in England; and a British officer has no right to require, by his passport given to a foreigner travelling abroad, that facilities and protection should be afforded to such foreigner by the authorities of foreign countries. A British officer has a right to require such facilities and protection for British subjects, and therefore he may give to British subjects a passport, which is a document making that request.

It is indeed permissible for a British officer abroad in very special cases to give a passport to a foreigner, in order to save him from some great and imminent personal danger. But in the present case it does not appear what imminent or great personal danger threatened those 500 persons to whom you gave passports. I cannot therefore approve of your having without any necessity (as far as hitherto appears) encouraged and aided 500 foreigners to come to England, where they will probably on their arrival be destitute of any means of subsistence.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 94.

*Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, July 24, 1849.*

I INCLOSE, for your information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Mr. Freeborn on the subject of his having granted passports for England to a large number of persons not British subjects, who had taken part in the late events at Rome.

You will furnish Mr. Petre with a copy of my despatch to Mr. Freeborn.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 95.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 24.)*

My Lord,

*Paris, July 23, 1849.*

I COMMUNICATED to M. de Tocqueville one of the printed copies forwarded by your Lordship of the representation made to the Roman Government by the Allied Powers in 1831, advising it to adopt certain reforms and improvements.

M. de Tocqueville had already had his attention called to this document, and felt that it contained the sort of arrangement which it would at once be desirable, and he hoped practicable to effect.

He took this opportunity of again repeating what he had said to me upon former occasions, that though England, for reasons given by your Lordship, had declined to take an active part in the present negotiations when invited by the Pope, he hoped she would nevertheless in some shape give to such an arrange-

ment as she had formerly wished to see effected, the moral support of her advice and counsel either at Gaeta or at Rome. The active interest she might show upon this subject would be an additional security that whatever reforms were promised would be sincerely executed.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 96.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 25.)*

My Lord,

*Florence, July 17, 1849.*

WITHIN the last few days General Ondinot's aide-de-camp has arrived from Rome to state to General d'Aspre, the Austrian Commander-in-chief at Florence, that it was the intention of the French General to send a body of troops from Rome in pursuit of Garibaldi and his troops, and to request General d'Aspre to co-operate with the French to prevent his escape.

General d'Aspre in consequence gave orders to the division of his army at Perugia to afford the French any assistance they might require for this object.

Accounts reached Florence yesterday that Garibaldi was on the point of entering Orvieto on the 15th instant, from which place most of the inhabitants had already fled.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 97.

*Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received July 28.)*

(Extract.)

*Vienna, July 21, 1849.*

IN obedience to your Lordship's directions I read your instructions of the 13th instant to the Prince Schwarzenberg, and sent him a copy. The Prince will reply through the channel of Count Colloredo.

I will report the substance of what his Highness said to me. He objected positively to subjecting the return of the Pope to any engagement to establish a constitution, and he repeated to me what he had said upon that point to Mr. Magenis, to the effect that the Pope would not under such an arrangement be allowed to continue in Rome, but would be driven from thence by the manœuvres of the same party that had dispossessed him before of all authority.

I asked if there would be any objection to an engagement being entered into by the Pope to confide to laymen the administration of Civil Government? The Prince said that might be done; and he subsequently added, that in his opinion the adoption of principles and substance set forth in the Memorandum of 1831 would be satisfactory. Your Lordship is well acquainted with the memorandum.

I asked the Prince if he could tell me what the French intended to do respecting the occupation of Rome. He replied that he did not know their plans, but that he wished them to remain there. I observed that the French had declared they could not occupy Rome with a small force, and that if they should continue the occupation it must be with a large one. His Highness denied that a large force would be necessary.

No. 98.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 1.)*

My Lord,

*Florence, July 24, 1849.*

GARIBALDI with his band amounting to about 5000 men, of whom 700 are cavalry, are moving from place to place on the Tuscan frontiers near Orvieto and Monte Pulciano, and levying contributions on the towns and villages.

Baron d'Aspre informed me yesterday evening that he thought Garibaldi was now surrounded by the Austrian troops, but from the daring character of the man and the facilities afforded by the nature of the country, his escape by sea is not considered improbable.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 99.

*Mr. Frebourn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 3.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, July 24, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit under envelope the "*Giornale di Roma*," No. 14, dated the 21st instant, containing the proclamation of Pius IX, and the order of General Oudinot, authorizing the action of the Vicar-General's Tribunal.

This tribunal places in the hands of the clergy extraordinary powers almost independent of His Holiness. The Vicar-General is the accuser, prosecutor, and judge, and all under secret evidence.

Inclosure 1 in No. 99.

*Proclamation of Pope Pius IX.*

Pius PP. IX, ai suoi amatissimi sudditi.

IDDIO ha levato in alto il suo braccio, ed ha comandato al mare tempestoso dell'anarchia e dell'empietà di arrestarsi. Egli ha guidato le armi Cattoliche per sostenere i diritti della umanità conculcata, della fede combattuta, e quelli della Sante Sede e della nostra sovranità. Sia lode eterna a Lui, che anco in mezzo alle ire non dimentica la misericordia.

Amatissimi sudditi, se nel vortice delle spaventose vicende il nostro cuore si è saziato di affanni sul riflesso di tanti mali partita dalla Chiesa, dalla religione e da voi; non ha però scemato l'affetto col quale vi amò sempre e vi ama. Noi affrettiamo co' nostri voti il giorno che ci conduca di nuovo fra voi; e allorquando sia giunto, noi torneremo col vivo desiderio di apportarvi conforto, e con la volontà di occuparci con tutte le nostre forze del vostro vero bene, applicando i difficili rimedii ai mali gravissimi, e consolando i buoni sudditi, i quali, mentre aspettano quelle istituzioni che appaghino i loro bisogni, vogliono, come noi lo vogliamo, veder guarentita la libertà e la indipendenza del Sommo Pontificato, così necessaria alla tranquillità del mondo Cattolico.

Intanto pel riordinamento della cosa pubblica andiamo a nominare una Commissione, che munita di pieni poteri, e coadiuvata da un Ministero, regoli il Governo dello Stato.

Quella benedizione del Signore, che vi abbiamo sempre implorata anche da voi lontani, oggi con maggior fervore la imploriamo, affinchè scenda copiosa sopra di voi: ed è grande conforto all'animo nostro lo sperare, che tutti quelli che vollero rendersi incapaci di goderne il frutto pe' loro travimenti, possano esserne fatti meritevoli mercè di un sincero e costante ravvedimento.

Datum Cajetæ, die 17 Julii, 1849.

PIUS PP. IX.

(Translation.)

Pius IX to his most beloved subjects.

GOD hath lifted his arm on high, and hath commanded the stormy sea of anarchy and impiety to cease. He hath guided the Catholic arms to sustain the rights of humanity trodden under foot, of faith fought against, and those of the Holy See and of our sovereignty. Eternal praise be to Him who even in the midst of wrath doth not forget mercy.

My beloved subjects ! If in the whirl of frightful events our heart has been overwhelmed with grief in reflecting on the many ills suffered by the Church, by religion, and by you, it has not failed in the love which it always bore to you, and still bears you. Our prayers hasten the day which shall bring us again among you, and when it arrives, we shall return with the strong desire to bring you comfort, and with the wish to use all our strength for your service, by applying difficult remedies to the most serious ills, and by consoling those good subjects, who, while they expect institutions which shall satisfy their desires, wish, as we do ourselves, to see secured the liberty and independence of the Supreme Pontificate, so necessary to the tranquillity of the Catholic world.

In the meantime, in order to the restoration of the public State, we are about to nominate a Commission, which, being provided with full-powers and aided by a Minister, shall regulate the government of the State.

That blessing of the Lord which we have always implored, even when far from you, we now implore with greater fervour, that it may descend in full measure upon you, and it is a great comfort to our spirit to hope that all those who were resolved to become incapable of enjoying the fruits thereof by their crimes, may be made worthy of it by a sincere and constant repentance.

Dated at Gaeta, July 17, 1849.

PIUS IX PP.

Inclosure 2 in No. 99.

*General Oudinot to the Vice-Gerant of Rome.*

Monseigneur, *Au Quartier-Général de Rome, le 18 Juillet, 1849.*

LE cours ordinaire de la Justice était interrompu depuis plusieurs mois. C'est à un tel état de choses, aussi nuisible aux intérêts de la population Romaine qu'à ceux de la morale publique, que l'ordonnance du Commissaire Général de Grace et Justice a voulu porter remède.

A Sa Sainteté seule il appartenait de fixer les limites des juridictions, et j'ai dû ne prendre que des mesures très provisoires, afin de laisser toute liberté d'action à l'Administration que le Saint-Père ne tardera pas à instituer. Il a d'ailleurs été convenu que les causes qui ressortissent des tribunaux ecclésiastiques seraient réservées.

Il résulte de là, Monseigneur, que les droits de votre juridiction ne peuvent être attaqués, et je serai le premier à les défendre contre tous les empiètements qui pourraient être tentés.

Veuillez, &c.

Le Général en chef,  
(Signé) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Head-Quarters, Rome, July 18, 1849.*

THE ordinary course of justice was interrupted for several months. The object of the ordinance of the Commissary-General of Grace and Justice has been to apply a remedy to such a state of things, which was equally injurious to the interests of the Roman population and to those of public morals.

It appertained to His Holiness alone to fix the limits of the jurisdiction, and I could only take very provisional measures in order to leave entire freedom of action to the Administration which the Holy Father will establish without delay. It has, moreover, been agreed that causes depending on the ecclesiastical tribunals should be reserved.

It follows from thence, Sir, that the rights of your jurisdiction cannot be assailed, and I shall be the first to maintain them against all the attacks which may be attempted against them.

Be pleased, &c.

The General in chief,  
(Signed) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 3.)*

(Extract.)

*Florence, July 26, 1849.*

I HAVE learnt from Baron d'Aspre that Garibaldi and his band have escaped into Romagna.

*Prince Schwarzenberg to Count Colloredo.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Count Colloredo, August 3.)*

M. le Comte,

*Vienne, le 27 Juillet, 1849.*

LORD PONSONBY, d'ordre de son Gouvernement m'a donné lecture et copie d'une dépêche portant la date du 13 Juillet dernier, dont vous trouverez ci-jointe copie, et par laquelle le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat engage le Gouvernement de l'Empereur à user de son influence sur les Conseils du Souverain Pontife pour que Sa Sainteté se décide à maintenir les concessions constitutionnelles qu'elle avait faites l'année dernière, et à se préparer ainsi les voies pour reprendre l'exercice du pouvoir souverain.

Il y a deux ans que Lord Palmerston s'adressa également au Cabinet de Vienne dans le but de l'inviter à faire parvenir aux différens Gouvernemens Italiens des conseils tendant à les encourager d'entrer franchement dans la voie des réformes réclamées par la voix publique. Depuis cette époque les vœux que Lord Palmerston énonçait alors pour l'Italie ont été remplis en ce que le système Représentatif a été introduit dans la plupart des Etats qui composent la Péninsule. Les espérances toutefois que sa Seigneurie rattachait à ce changement important ne se sont malheureusement pas réalisées au même degré. Le mécontentement général que Lord Palmerston signalait dans sa dépêche du 12 Août, 1847, et qu'il s'attendait à voir cesser dès l'introduction des réformes qu'il conseillait, n'a fait que s'accroître après une époque bien courte d'exaltation factice et de démonstrations plus bruyantes que sincères, et le relâchement de tous les liens de l'ordre public a été suivi de près du terrorisme de la démagogie la plus effrénée. Les Princes qui les premiers avaient accordé à leurs pays des garanties Constitutionnelles, ont été les premières victimes des vicissitudes de la popularité. En résumé, l'histoire d'Italie pendant les deux dernières années a prouvé une fois de plus, que pour faire jouir un peuple des bienfaits de la liberté il ne suffit pas de le doter d'institutions libérales, mais qu'il faudrait avant tout posséder l'art de lui inspirer ce profond respect des loix et de l'autorité et cet esprit public qui constituent la puissance de l'Angleterre, et qui font de ce pays à juste titre l'objet de l'envie et de l'admiration des autres nations.

Ayant à peine triomphé des attaques combinées de presque tous les Etats Italiens agités par la Révolution, l'Autriche a été appelée à concourir par ses armes à délivrer l'Italie Centrale du joug odieux de l'anarchie qui la désolait. En accomplissant cette mission, l'Autriche a satisfait à un devoir en même temps qu'elle a exercé un droit. Elle a satisfait à un devoir en ce qu'un intérêt majeur de ses peuples dont la grande majorité professe la religion Catholique, lui commandait de sauvegarder la liberté et l'indépendance du chef de cette église ; elle a exercé un droit, puisque le soin de sa propre conservation l'autorisait à réprimer dans un pays limitrophe la flagrante anarchie dont le débordement avait porté dans ses propres provinces, naguères si florissantes, la dévastation et toutes les horreurs de la guerre.

Quant à la réorganisation de l'Etat de l'Eglise où son intervention a concouru à faire cesser le règne de la terreur, l'Autriche compte s'en tenir aux maximes développées dans la dépêche Anglaise du 12 Août, 1847. En y établissant que chaque Gouvernement a incontestablement le droit d'opérer telles réformes et améliorations qu'il juge de nature à secourir le bien-être du peuple confié à ses soins, Lord Palmerston a posé un principe auquel nous adhérons pleinement. Aussi, considérons-nous le Souverain Pontife comme entièrement libre de s'arrêter

en pareille matière à tel parti que lui dictera sa conscience et la saine appréciation des véritables intérêts et besoins de son peuple. Nous ne nous reconnaissons pas le droit d'imposer à Sa Sainteté des conditions quelconques, tout comme nous ne nous croyons pas autorisés à l'empêcher de profiter des leçons de l'expérience. Pie IX, à nos yeux, est le seul juge compétent de la question de savoir si son devoir et le vrai bien de son peuple l'obligent à rentrer exactement dans les mêmes voies qui, en livrant l'autorité souveraine sans défense aux attaques de ses ennemis acharnés, ont fatalement valu l'exil au Pape, et à ses sujets une affreuse anarchie. Appelés toutefois à énoncer notre opinion, nous n'avons pas laissé ignorer au Saint Père quels sont les vœux que nous formons pour l'avenir de son pays. Il s'entend que l'Autriche pas plus que Pie IX lui-même, ne saurait vouloir du retour à d'anciens abus ni du rétablissement d'institutions surannées qui, loin d'offrir des garanties à l'ordre et à la liberté, seraient plutôt de nature à compromettre de nouveau l'un et l'autre. Nous désirons avant tout, comme Puissance limitrophe, voir établi dans l'Etat de l'Eglise un Gouvernement régulier qui respecte et sache faire respecter les lois internationales, et avec lequel il y ait moyen de vivre en paix. Nous voudrions également y voir les libertés politiques se développer graduellement sous l'égide d'une autorité forte et entourée du respect général. L'indépendance du Souverain Pontife, d'un côté, et de l'autre un régime sage et libéral à introduire dans ses Etats; voilà deux intérêts auxquels nous attachons une importance égale. Nous pensons qu'il y aurait moyen de les concilier, en prenant pour base de la réorganisation des Etats de l'Eglise, les conseils que les Puissances avaient de commun accord offerts à Grégoire XVI par le *Mémorandum* du 21 Mai, 1831. Dans ce travail, l'admissibilité des laïques à tous les emplois civils et militaires était énoncée; l'établissement sur une large base de libertés communales et provinciales si propres à initier un peuple à la vie publique; la création enfin d'une Junte Centrale, avaient été conseillés. Nous pensons que des institutions de ce genre plus ou moins modifiées, selon les circonstances, tout en étant de nature à ménager à Pie IX une attitude qui ne renierait pas son passé pas plus qu'elle ne compromettrait son avenir, mériteraient encore aujourd'hui les suffrages des hommes vraiment éclairés et sincèrement dévoués à leur patrie.

Je prie votre Excellence de donner à M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat communication et copie de cette dépêche.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) SCHWARZENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Vienna, July 27, 1849.

LORD PONSONBY, by order of his Government, has read to me and has given me a copy of a despatch dated the 13th of July last, of which you will find a copy annexed, and by which the Principal Secretary of State requests the Government of the Emperor to exert its influence over the Councils of the Sovereign Pontiff, in order that His Holiness may decide on maintaining the constitutional concessions which he had adopted last year, and thus prepare the way for the resumption of the exercise of the sovereign power.

Two years ago Lord Palmerston, in like manner, applied to the Cabinet of Vienna for the purpose of proposing to it to offer to the various Governments of Italy advice tending to encourage them frankly to enter upon those reforms demanded by the voice of the public. Since this period the desires which Lord Palmerston then expressed with regard to Italy have been fulfilled, in that the Representative system has been introduced into the greater part of the States which compose the Peninsula. Nevertheless, the hopes which his Lordship founded on this important change have unfortunately not been realized to the same extent. The general dissatisfaction which his Lordship pointed out in his despatch of the 12th of August, 1847, and which he expected to see cease upon the introduction of the reforms which he advised, has only increased after a very short period of factious exultation and of demonstrations more noisy than sincere, and the relaxation of all the ties of public order has been closely followed by the terrorism of a demagoguery perfectly uncontrolled. Those Princes who were the first to grant to their country Constitutional guarantees have been the first victims of the vicissitudes of popularity. In short, the history of Italy

during the last two years has proved once more, that in order to make a people enjoy the benefits of liberty, it does not suffice to endow them with liberal institutions, but that it is necessary before everything to possess the art of inspiring them with that profound respect for laws and authority, and with that public spirit, which constitute the power of England, and which justly make that country the object of the envy and of the admiration of other nations.

Hardly had Austria triumphed over the combined attacks of nearly all the Italian States agitated by the Revolution, when she was called upon to assist by her arms in delivering Central Italy from the odious yoke of anarchy which desolated it. In accomplishing this mission, Austria has fulfilled a duty, at the same time that she has exercised a right. She has fulfilled a duty, since an important interest of her people, of whom the great majority profess the Catholic religion, required her to protect the liberty and the independence of the Head of the Church. She has exercised a right, since the care of her own preservation authorized her to repress in a neighbouring State the flagrant anarchy, the outbreak of which had carried into her own provinces, lately so flourishing, devastation and all the horrors of war.

As to the re-organization of the State of the Church, in which her intervention has helped to put a stop to the reign of terror, Austria reckons on adhering to the maxims developed in the English despatch of the 12th of August, 1847. By asserting in that despatch that each Government has incontestibly the right of carrying out such reforms and improvements as it considers of a nature to promote the well-being of the people entrusted to its care, Lord Palmerston has laid down a principle to which we fully adhere. Accordingly, let us consider the Sovereign Pontiff as entirely free to take in such a matter whatever side his conscience and the sound appreciation of the true interests and wants of his people shall dictate to him. We do not recognise in ourselves the right to impose any conditions whatever upon His Holiness, any more than we consider ourselves authorized to prevent him from profiting by lessons of experience. Pius the IXth, in our opinion, is the sole competent judge of the question whether his duty and the true welfare of his people require him to return precisely to the same course which by yielding without resistance the sovereign authority to the attacks of his exasperated enemies, brought exile fatally upon the Pope, and fearful anarchy upon his subjects. Nevertheless, called upon to pronounce our opinion, we have not allowed the Holy Father to remain ignorant of the wishes we entertain for the future state of his country. It is clear that Austria, no more than Pius IX himself, could not desire a return to former abuses, or the re-establishment of superannuated institutions, which, so far from offering guarantees for order and liberty, would rather be of a nature to compromise afresh both one and the other. We desire especially, as a neighbouring Power, to see established in the State of the Church a regular Government, which shall respect, and cause to be respected, international laws, and by which it would be possible to live in peace. We should desire likewise to see political liberties gradually developing themselves there under the protection of powerful authority, sustained by general respect. The independence of the Sovereign Pontiff on the one hand, and on the other the introduction of a wise and liberal administration into its States, are two interests to which we attach equal importance. We think the means of reconciling them might be found, by taking as the basis of the reorganization of the States of the Church, the counsels which the Powers by common consent offered to Gregory XVI by the Memorandum of the 21st May, 1831. In this document the admissibility of the levy to all civil and military employment was laid down; the establishment on a broad basis of communal and provincial liberties, so well adapted to initiate a people into public life; lastly, the creation of a Central Junta, were recommended. We consider that institutions of this kind, more or less modified according to circumstances, at the same time that they were calculated to ensure to Pius IX a position not inconsistent with what had passed, or fettering him inconveniently as regards the future, would even now be worthy of the approbation of men truly enlightened, and sincerely devoted to their country.

I request your Excellency to communicate this despatch to the Principal Secretary of State, and to give him a copy of it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) SCHWARZENBERG.



No. 102.

*Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.*

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, August 7, 1849.*

I TRANSMIT herewith extracts of letters which I have received from Mr. Petre and from Mr. Frechorn, explaining the nature of the functions exercised by the Vicar-General at Rome, whose office it appears was about to be restored to activity.

I have to instruct your Excellency to explain to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs the real character of the office in question, the reestablishment of which seems calculated to create great discontent among the people of the Roman States.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys read to me some days ago a despatch addressed to him by M. de Tocqueville, upon the affairs of Rome. The substance of that despatch was, that the French Government finds great difficulty in persuading the Pope to adopt a liberal policy on his return to Rome: and that there seems reason to suppose that the utmost extent of improvement to which he could be prevailed to go, would consist in the measures recommended as long ago as 1831 by the Five Powers, in the memorandum submitted to the late Pope. Those measures would chiefly consist in the maintenance of municipal councils; in the creation of provincial councils; and in the establishment of some central body at Rome as a council to be consulted on measures on which their opinion might be asked, but not to legislate or to originate measures; and to perform besides, the duties of auditing the public accounts; and the French Government expressed a wish to have the co-operation of Her Majesty's Government in urging such an arrangement upon the Pope.

I said in reply to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, that as the British Government has not yet established diplomatic relations with the Government of Rome, we have no means at present of tendering advice on such matters to the Pope, but that I much feared that such a limited arrangement as that described in the despatch which he had read to me, would fall short of the necessities of the case, and would not lay the foundation for contentment among the Roman people, and for permanent harmony between them and their Sovereign.

I said that the thing which is essentially required for future tranquillity in the Roman States, is some good and valid security against a return of those intolerable abuses which Priestly Government had created and maintained, and that it seemed to me that such security could only be found in a Representative and Legislative Assembly and in a well-regulated freedom of the press, and a *bona fide* separation of the temporal from the spiritual administration; in short, in such a constitution as the Pope had granted to his subjects in the Fundamental Statute of the 14th of March, 1848.

I said that the desire of the Pope arbitrarily to abrogate that Constitution on his return to Rome, is a strong indication that he is acting under the influence of persons who aim at reestablishing the old state of things, and that the municipal and provincial councils and the Central Consulta di Stato, appeared to me to be very insufficient barriers against the execution of such designs.

The revival of the authority of the Court of the Vicar-General seems much to confirm the apprehensions which I expressed to M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

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 Inclosure 1 in No. 102.
*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Petre.**Rome, July 25, 1849.*

GENERAL OUDINOT has addressed a letter to the Vice-Gerant of Rome, in which he tells him that any measures taken by General Oudinot for the ordinary course of justice are only provisional, in order that full liberty of action may be left to the Administration which the Holy Father will not delay to institute, and that questions belonging to ecclesiastical tribunals are

expressly reserved; that therefore the rights of the Vice-Gerant's jurisdiction cannot be impugned; and that he, General Oudinot, will be the first to defend those rights against all encroachments. The Vice-Gerant, always an archbishop, is the chief functionary under the Cardinal Vicar. The tribunal of the Vicariato has power unbounded: the Cardinal Vicar, as a reformer of morals, extends his authority over the affairs and transactions of private life; but it is amongst the lower classes chiefly that the inferior officers of this tribunal, in unison with the inferior assisting clergy, those under the curates, can exert their power. If General Oudinot had written to the Inquisition in the same sense as he has written to the Vice-Gerant it would have passed over without much notice, for the Inquisition has, in Rome, for a long course of years, but very rarely, if ever, used its power except to punish the excesses of the clergy by imprisonment more or less rigorous. When the late Government opened the Inquisition, none, I believe, but a few priests were found there and in its house of detention at Corneto. One was an Abyssinian, who some years ago forged letters from the Pasha of Egypt to the Pope, was made a bishop, obtained a good sum of money from the Propaganda and various rich Church ornaments, but the imposture was discovered and he was imprisoned for life.

Inclosure 2 in No. 102.

[Letter from Mr. Freeborn, see No. 99.]

No. 103.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.*

Sir, *Admiralty, August 7, 1849.*  
I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, a copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, dated the 25th ultimo, transmitting a copy of a despatch from Lieutenant Willes of Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Spitfire," reporting the latest intelligence of the state of affairs at Rome and Civita Vecchia.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 103.

*Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

Sir, *"Caledonia," Malta, July 25, 1849, 10 A.M.*  
I TRANSMIT, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the copy of a letter which I have this instant received from Lieutenant Willes of Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Spitfire," conveying the latest intelligence of the state of affairs at Rome and Civita Vecchia.

I am also informed by Captains Codrington and Baynes, under date of 20th July, that everything is perfectly quiet at Genoa and Leghorn.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) W. PARKER.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 103.

*Lieutenant Willes to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.*

Sir,

*"Spitfire," Civita Vecchia, July 21, 1849.*

IN pursuance of orders from Captain Martin of Her Majesty's ship "Prince Regent," I beg to inform you of the events that have passed since my arrival here on the 15th instant.

The Papal flag (white) was rehoisted here under a salute of 100 guns on the 15th, and by order of General Oudinot a public thanksgiving was offered up for the restoration of the Papal authority. The troops and sailors from the different steamers were reviewed on the public square by Rear-Admiral Tréhouart; there was not on the part of the people the slightest manifestation of joy on the occasion, the illumination only taking place in the public buildings.

Rear-Admiral Tréhouart is still here with his flag in the "Labrador," a large troop-steamer, with the steamers, &c., mentioned in the inclosed return.

A troop-steamer arrived on the 17th with about 200 or 300 infantry, which I am given to understand are convalescents from Bastia.

The French Envoy, M. Courcelles, left on the 15th for Gaeta with the news of the restoration of the Papal power, and another large French steamer arrived yesterday with 300 or 400 troops, a few horses, and munitions of war.

About 700 or 800 Lombard refugees are still in this city in the greatest distress.

I have visited Rome, tracing the French works up to their last parallels on the Monte Gianicolo, and also to witness what damage had been done to the city, and I was glad to find that except on the Monte above named and its immediate neighbourhood, it does not bear the slightest sign of having been besieged and attacked by a large army.

A few shells, no doubt, fell in other parts of the town accidentally, and indeed I saw the marks, one in the Prussian Minister's house on the Capitol Hill, and another on the city side of Ponte Sisto.

The Roman Government themselves have caused the destruction of a good deal of property, viz., immediately outside the Porta Cavallegieri, round the Castle of St. Angelo and the city side of the Porta St. Angelo, where a great many houses have been razed to give the guns in the Castle room to play.

The Villa Borghese is totally destroyed, no doubt, with the view of preventing the French from getting protection from the batteries erected on the Monte Pincio. From the Porta del Popolo to the Porta Maggiore, the garden walls or any houses that might be near the wall of the city have been knocked down, which appeared an useless destruction, as the wall in this part is only one in name, and might have been carried at the point of the bayonet at any moment.

The Papal flag (white and yellow) was rehoisted on the 15th, and is still flying on the Capitol Quirinal, but the French flag predominates in Rome as far as numbers are concerned.

Everything is exceedingly quiet and orderly; the French troops, which to the number of 18,000 are in the city, conducting themselves in the most orderly manner; they are quartered in the public buildings, entrance-halls of private palaces, even the ruins of the Coliseum are devoted to a large number of artillery.

The remainder of the French army I am given to understand is quartered at Albano, &c.

The chase of Garibaldi has been given up, and he is supposed to have taken refuge in the mountains.

It would appear certain that the army intend remaining some time longer in the city, as they have advertised for contract tenders to supply the troops with provisions for the mouths of August and September. Mazzini escaped from this place on the 15th in a steamer.

I had great difficulty in finding what was the outward feeling of the people at the thanksgiving offered up on the restoration of the Papal authority at Rome. On the 15th, 18,000 French troops were drawn up on the Piazza of St. Peter's, General Oudinot went in state to the "Te Deum;" and at least 30,000 people

assembled there; St. Peter's was illuminated, and the whole city showed a most magnificent appearance, but it seems very doubtful if there was any feeling for Pio IX. The French General himself was very well received.

There is a panic among the people about the Republican paper-money. Silver is at 25 per cent. premium. The fear is that the new Government (when it comes) will dishonour it; thousands will then be ruined; many shops have already shut up rather than deal with it, and several intelligent people assured me that there was nothing more likely to cause a fresh outbreak among the people than this act, should it be carried into effect.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. WILLES.

P. S.—22nd July. Another large French troop steamer has just arrived and anchored in the outer roads.

G. W.

No. 104.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.*—(Received August 10.)

(Extract.)

Paris, August 9, 1849.

I SAW M. de Tocqueville yesterday morning upon the subject of that portion of your Lordship's despatch of the 7th instant which related to the information received from Mr. Petre and Mr. Freelorn, as to the re-establishment of the tribunal of the Vicar-General. I entered into a detail of the odious nature of the functions of that officer, as stated in these reports, and as confirmed by my own recollections.

No. 105.

*The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.*—(Received August 13.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 12, 1849.

THE only news of importance received from Rome is a telegraphic message announcing that the Pope had consented to proclaim the "Code Napoléon" as the established law of the land.

This will be an important amelioration of a practical character upon a point where reform was most required.

This must have been subsequent to those edicts issued by the Governmental Commission at Rome of a less satisfactory character which appear in the public papers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 106.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.*—(Received August 13.)

(Extract.)

Rome, August 2, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit the "Giornale di Roma" of the 1st instant, by which your Lordship will see that the Commission of three Cardinals have received the temporal power from the hands of General Oudinot: Cardinal Altieri, Cardinal Vannicelli, who was Legate at Bologna, and Cardinal Della Genga, who was Legate at Pesaro.

The Spaniards are receiving reinforcements of men and field-pieces. Garibaldi's is now in the vicinity of Pesaro.

## Inclosure 1 in No. 106.

*Circular of General Oudinot to the Commissaries General of the Interior, Finances, Grace and Justice, and Public Works.*

Signore,

SUA SANTITÀ, nello scopo di provvedere al riordinamento degli Stati Pontifici, si degnò nominare una Commissione Governativa, la quale, munita di pieni-poteri, risiederà in questa capitale. Essa è composta degli Eminentissimi signori Cardinali Gabriele della Genga-Sermattei, Luigi Vannicelli-Casoni, e Ludovico Altieri. Questa Commissione, la quale è incaricata di formare un Ministero, è giunta in Roma.

L'alta missione di cui è investita, mi permette di rimettere al Governo Pontificio i poteri che gli avvenimenti della guerra avevano momentaneamente concentrato nelle mie mani. Nel momento che cessano le mie relazioni di servizio con voi, io sento, o Signore, il bisogno d'attestarvi la mia riconoscenza pel concorso attivo, ed al tempo stesso illuminato, che vi siete compiaciuto di accordarmi nella direzione degli affari.

Le mie relazioni con voi mi lasceranno, o Signore, preziose rimembranze, dacehè voi in un posto difficile ed in gravi circostanze avete reso ogni possibile servizio.

Ricevete, &c.

Monsieur,

SA SAINTÈTE, dans le but de pourvoir à la réorganisation des Etats Pontificaux, a daigné nommer une Commission Gouvernementale, qui, munie de pleins-pouvoirs, fera sa résidence dans la capitale. Elle est composée de leurs Excellences les Cardinaux Gabriel della Genga-Sermattei, Louis Vannicelli-Casoni, et Ludovic Altieri. Cette Commission, qui est chargée de former un Ministère, vient d'arriver à Rome.

La haute mission dont elle est investie me permet de remettre au Gouvernement Pontificel des pouvoirs que les événemens de la guerre avaient momentanément concentré dans mes mains. Au moment où vont cesser mes relations de service avec vous, Monsieur, j'éprouve le besoin de vous témoigner ma reconnaissance pour le concours à la fois actif et éclairé que vous avez bien voulu m'accorder dans la direction des affaires.

Mes relations avec vous, Monsieur, me laisseront de précieux souvenirs, et vous avez rendu, dans un poste difficile, pendant de graves circonstances, tous les services qu'il était possible de rendre.

Recevez, &c.

Le Général en chef,  
(Signé) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

(Translation.)

Sir,

HIS Holiness, with the view of providing for the reorganization of the Pontifical States, has been pleased to name a Commission of Government, which, furnished with full-powers, will reside in the capital. It is composed of their Excellencies the Cardinals Gabriel della Genga-Sermattei, Louis Vannicelli-Casoni, and Ludovic Altieri. This Commission, which is charged with the formation of a Government, has arrived in Rome.

The important duty with which it is entrusted admits of my resigning to the Pontifical Government the powers which the events of war had for a time concentrated in my hands. On the cessation of my official relations with you, I feel it necessary, Sir, to express to you my thanks for the co-operation, at once active and enlightened, which you have had the goodness to afford me in the management of affairs.

My relations with you, Sir, will be precious in my remembrance, and you have rendered to a difficult post and under serious circumstances, all the services which it was possible for you to afford.

Receive, &c.

The General in chief,  
(Signed) OUDINOT DE REGGIO.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 106.

*Notification of the Government Commission.*

La Commissione Governativa di Stato, in nome di Sua Santità Pio Papa IX, felicemente regnante, a tutti i sudditi suo temporale dominio.

La Provvidenza Divina ha sottratto dal vortice tempestosissimo delle più eicche e nere passioni, col braccio invitto e glorioso delle armi Cattoliche, i popoli di tutto lo Stato Pontificio, ed in modo speciale quello della città di Roma, sede e centro della religione nostra santissima. Quindi fedele il Santo Padre alla promessa annunciata col suo venerato Motu proprio dato da Gaeta il 17 del prossimo passato mese, ci manda ora fra voi con pieni poteri onde riparare ne' migliori modi, e quanto più presto sarà possibile, ai gravi danni arrecati dall'anarchia e dal despotismo di pochi.

Nostra prima cura sarà quella che la religione e la morale siano rispettate da tutti come base e fondamento di ogni convivenza sociale; che la giustizia abbia il suo pieno e regolare corso indistintamente per ciascuno; e che l'amministrazione della cosa pubblica riceva quell'assetto ed incremento, di cui v'ha tanto bisogno dopo l'indegna manomissione fattane dai demagoghi senza senno e senza nome.

A conseguire questi importantissimi risultati, ci gioveremo del consiglio di persone distinte per la loro intelligenza e pel loro zelo, non meno che per la comune fiducia che godono, e che tanto contribuisce al buon esito degli affari.

Richiede poi il regolare ordine delle cose, che a capo de' rispettivi Ministeri vi sieno uomini integri e versati nel ramo cui dovranno attendere con ogni alacrità; egli è quindi che nomineremo quanto prima chi presieda agli affari Interni e di Polizia, a quelli della Giustizia, alle finanze, alle armi, non che ai lavori pubblici e commercio; restando gli affari esteri presso l'Eminentissimo Cardinale Pro-Segretario di Stato, che, durante la sua assenza, avrà in Roma un Sostituto per gli affari ordinarij.

Rinascia così, siccome speriamo, la fiducia in ogni ceto ed ordine di persone, mentre il Santo Padre nel suo animo veramente benefico si occupa di provvedere con quei miglioramenti, e con quelle istituzioni che sieno compatibili colla sua dignità e potestà altissima di Pontefice Sommo, colla natura di questo Stato, la di cui conservazione interessa tutto il mondo Cattolico, e co' bisogni reali de' suoi amatissimi sudditi.

Roma, dalla nostra residenza del Palazzo Quirinale, il 1 Agosto, 1849.

(Firmato)

G. CARDINAL DELLA GENGA SERMATTEI.

L. CARDINAL VANNICELLI CASONI.

L. CARDINAL ALTERI.

(Translation.)

THE Governing Commission of State, in the name of His Holiness Pope Pius IX, happily reigning, to all the subjects of his temporal dominions.

Divine Providence, by the aid of the unconquered and glorious Catholic arms, has withdrawn the inhabitants of the whole Pontifical States from the stormy torrent of the blindest and darkest passions; and more especially the people of the city of Rome, the seat and centre of our most holy religion. Wherefore the Holy Father, faithful to the promise announced by his revered motuproprio, dated at Gaeta on the 7th of last month, now sends us among you, with full-powers to repair in the best manner, and as speedily as possible, the serious ills which have been caused by anarchy and the despotism of a few.

It shall be our first care that religion and morals be respected by all as the basis and foundation of every social State; that justice shall have its full and regular course for all indiscriminately; and that the Administration of the State may take the attitude and increase, which it wants so much after having been so unworthily debased by senseless and nameless demagogues.

And in order to obtain these most important results we shall employ the advice of persons distinguished for their intelligence and zeal, as well as for the general confidence which they enjoy, and which contributes so greatly to the success of affairs.

The regular order of things requires that at the head of the respective Ministries men of integrity be placed, versed in the branch of affairs to which they shall attend with all diligence; it is therefore necessary that we nominate as soon as possible persons to preside over Internal Affairs and those of Police, those of Justice, the Finances, Arms, Public Works, and Commerce; Foreign Affairs remaining under the direction of his Eminence the Cardinal Pro-Secretary of State, who shall have in Rome, during his absence, a substitute for ordinary business.

Confidence, we hope, will thus revive in every condition and order of persons, whilst the Holy Father in his truly beneficent mind is occupied with providing such improvements and institutions as are compatible with his dignity and very high power as Supreme Pontiff, with the nature of this State, whose preservation is of interest to the whole Catholic world, and with the real wants of his most beloved subjects.

Rome, from our residence in the Quirinal Palace, August 1, 1849.

(Signed)

G. CARDINAL DELLA GENGA SERMATTEL.

L. CARDINAL VANNICELLI CASONI.

L. CARDINAL ALTIERI.

# No. 107.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 12.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, August 4, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, notification from the Government Commission, dated the 2nd instant, relating to the "employés;"

Notification regulating the value of the Republican paper currency, reduced from the nominal value of 100 to 65.

The commercial establishments here suffered severely, but most of all the French commerce.

## Inclosure 1 in No. 107.

### *Notification of the Government Commission relating to Employés.*

A PROVVEDERE per intanto al regolare corso della giustizia civile, criminale, ed amministrativa, non che al legittimo esercizio degli impieghi che vi hanno relazione, si ordina come segue:

1. Le leggi e le disposizioni qualunque emanate dal 16 Novembre, 1848, sono nulle e di niun effetto.

2. La rinnovazione delle iscrizioni ipotecarie resta però sospesa, finchè sia provveduto al tempo e modo di eseguirla.

3. I tribunali Pontificii esistenti nella suddetta epoca sono ripristinati. Cessano gli altri che derivano dal potere illegittimo.

4. Gli impiegati dimessi, per non avere aderito al Governo intruso, tornano immediatamente ai loro uffici. Cessano tutti gli altri che furono nominati dal 16 Novembre, 1848, in poi; e quelli i quali avessero aderito, o fossero stati promossi, rinangono e tornano rispettivamente per ora al posto che prima occupavano, quante volte non se ne fossero resi immeritevoli per altre positive cagioni.

5. Verrà inoltre istituito un consiglio di censura per conoscere le qualità e la condotta degli Impiegati Civili in ogni ramo, onde proporre alla definitiva sanzione sovrano il personale attuale dei dicasteri di tutto lo Stato.

6. Per l'andamento delle Amministrazioni comunali, i Presidi delle Province nomineranno provvisoriamente delle apposite Commissioni, rimanendo disciolti gli attuali Municipi.

7. La presente notificazione avrà il suo pieno effetto in tutto lo Stato, non ostante qualsivoglia disposizione emanata in contrario.

Roma, dalla nostra residenza nel Palazzo Quirinale, li 2 Agosto, 1849.

(Firmato)

G. CARD. DELLA GENGA SERMATTEL.

L. CARD. VANNICELLI CASONI.

L. CARD. ALTIERI.

## (Translation.)

IN order to provide for the present for the regular course of civil, criminal and administrative justice, as well as the legitimate exercise of the functions relative thereto, it is ordered as follows:

1. All laws and regulations whatever issued from the 16th November, 1848, are null and of none effect.

2. The renewal of mortgage-deeds (*iscrizioni ipotecarie*) remains suspended until provision shall be made as to the time and manner of carrying it into effect.

3. The Pontifical tribunals which were in existence at that period are reinstated; those which were instituted by the illegitimate power shall cease.

4. All functionaries dismissed for non-adherence to the intrusive Government shall forthwith return to their offices. All others who have been nominated from the 16th of November until now, shall retire, and those who may have adhered or have been promoted, shall remain in and return respectively from this time to the position which they held previously, wherever they have not rendered themselves unworthy by other positive causes.

5. There shall also be instituted a Council of Investigation (*Censura*) in order to ascertain the qualifications and behaviour of civil *employés* in every branch, in order to lay before the Sovereign for the purpose of definitive sanction, the statement of the persons employed in the offices throughout the State.

6. For the purpose of carrying on the Provincial Administration, the Presidents of the provinces shall provisionally nominate Commissions respectively, the existing Town Councils being abolished.

7. The present notification shall be in full force throughout the State, notwithstanding any provision whatever issued to the contrary.

Rome, from our residence in the Quirinal Palace, August 2, 1849.

(Signed)

G. CARDINAL DELLA GENGA SERMATTEI.

L. CARDINAL VANNICELLI CASONI.

L. CARDINAL ALTIERI.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 107.

*Notification of the Government Commission relating to the Paper Currency.*

LA nullità delle leggi ed atti dei sedicenti Governi Provvisorio e Repubblicano, porterebbe seco la nullità della carta monetata da essi posta in circolazione, per aver mezzi di sostenersi nella loro usurpazione, e nella più sconsigliata e fatale resistenza.

Commosso però l'animo del Santo Padre dal riflesso che l'assoluto annullamento pregiudicherebbe molti onesti cittadini, e porterebbe seco la rovina di una quantità di famiglie, specialmente della classe più indigente e de' negozianti; per conciliare le viste di equità con le circostanze nelle quali trovasi e si troverà l'Esercizio, riservandosi di provvedere altresì al bisogno del commercio con la circolazione di sufficiente specie monetaria, ha ordinato di disporre quanto segue:

1. Restano confermati, e conseguentemente ne continuerà il corso coattivo, tutti i boni del tesoro fino alla serie lettera O inclusivamente, dei quali Sua Santità aveva autorizzato l'emissione.

2. Vengono poi riconosciuti e garantiti tutti gli altri Boni successivamente emessi dai sedicenti Governi Provvisorio e Repubblicano, per la tangente del sessantacinque per cento de loro valor nominale.

Ad evitare qualunque inconveniente nella calcolazione del valore riconosciuto dei Boni e delle frazioni che ne derivano, si dichiara il valore dei medesimi mediante la sottoposta tariffa.

3. Il Governo provvederà il più presto possibile al ritiro dei boni ed alla loro riduzione e concambio con altri di forma regolare, e con le cautele necessarie ad ispirare la piena fiducia nel pubblico e nel commercio, o con la



sostituzione di valori metallici per quanto le circostanze lo permetteranno senza gravi sacrificii.

4. Le carte monetate emesse da province o comuni, potranno continuare il loro corso nei rispettivi luoghi sotto le relative garanzie e senza responsabilità del Governo; il quale vi porterà la sua sorveglianza per quanto solo riguarda la pubblica indennità.

*Tariffa indicante il valore nominale e quello riconosciuto de' Boni contemplati nell' Art 2 della presente Notificazione.*

Valore.			
Nominale.			Riconosciuto.
Sc. 100 00	-	-	Sc. 65 00
50 00	-	-	32 50
20 00	-	-	13 00
10 00	-	-	6 50
5 00	-	-	3 25
2 00	-	-	1 30
1 00	-	-	0 65
0 40	-	-	0 26
0 32	-	-	0 21
0 24	-	-	0 15 5
0 16	-	-	0 10 5
0 10	-	-	0 06 5

Roma, della nostra residenza del Quirinale, il 3 Agosto, 1849.

(Firmato)

G. CARD. DELLA GENGA SERMATTEL.

L. CARD. VANNICELLI CASONI.

L. CARD. ALTIERI.

(Translation.)

THE annulment of the laws and acts of the self-styled Provisional and Republican Government would carry with it the annulment of the paper-currency, which they have circulated with the object of procuring means to maintain themselves in their usurpation and their most unadvised and fatal resistance.

But the heart of the Holy Father being moved by the consideration that the absolute annulment might be injurious to many honest citizens, and might cause the ruin of a number of families, especially those of the poorer and trading classes, in order to reconcile the views of equity with the circumstances in which the treasury is and will be placed, reserving to himself also to provide when required for the necessities of trade by the circulation of a sufficient amount of specie, has commanded the following arrangements to be made:

1. All the Treasury bonds up to letter O inclusive, the issue of which has been authorized by His Holiness, are confirmed, and consequently the circulation of the same shall continue to be obligatory.

2. All the other bonds successively issued by the self-styled Provisional and Republican Government are also recognised and guaranteed for the amount of 65 per cent. of their nominal value.

In order to prevent inconvenience in calculating the recognised value of the bonds and of the parts of the same, the amount is declared in the following tariff.—

3. The Government will provide as early as possible for the withdrawal of the Bonds, and the reduction and exchange of the same for others of a regular form, and with the precautions necessary to inspire full confidence in the public and in commerce, or by substituting specie, so far as circumstances shall permit without making serious sacrifices.

4. Paper-money issued by the provinces or districts may continue to circulate in the respective places under their relative guarantees, and without responsibility on the part of the Government, who shall superintend solely in so far as regards the public security.

*Tariff showing the nominal and recognised values of the Bonds mentioned in Art. 2 of this Notification.*

Value.				
Nominal.			Recognised.	
Sc.	100	00	Sc.	65 00
	50	00		32 50
	20	00		13 00
	10	00		6 50
	5	00		3 25
	2	00		1 30
	1	00		0 65
	0	40		0 26
	0	32		0 21
	0	24		0 15 5
	0	16		0 10 5
	0	10		0 06 5

Rome, from our residence of the Quirinal, August 3, 1849.

(Signed) G. CARD. DELLA GENGA SERMATTEI.  
L. CARD. VANNICELLI CASONI.  
L. CARD. ALTIERI.

No. 108.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 12.)*

My Lord

Rome, August 4, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's despatch dated 23rd ultimo, conveying your Lordship's disapproval at my having granted 500 passports to foreign refugees, which disapproval I deeply regret. I will not dwell on the very painful situation I was placed in at the time, assailed as I was by all parties, who openly stated that these refugees were in imminent peril, a fear that was natural they should entertain, when they saw the French troops enter *en masse*, not preceded by any condition or even promise to respect the lives of those who had defended the city. Some provocation had been given to the French troops by the people; happily the forbearance and discipline of the troops prevented a collision, but the sullen demeanour of the people might have produced it, and then what would have become of the said refugees? In the midst of the confusion and dismay by the occupation of the city, I certainly omitted to take a declaration from the applicants that they considered their being in danger. I must therefore beg of your Lordship to rely on the veracity of my assertion that such were their verbal declarations, and I at the time considered them in imminent peril. I take the liberty of stating that I have declined receiving any fee of office on the passports above alluded to, and I afforded pecuniary aid to several distressed refugees from a charitable fund made up by me and by some of my personal friends.

I have only to add that I was not singular in giving my aid to the refugees to leave Rome; the other Consuls, moved by a sense of humanity, did the same, inasmuch that 3000 passports were granted by the American, Swiss, Bavarian, and Sardinian Consuls. As to the 500 going to England I can take upon myself to give a decided opinion that not more than one-tenth will actually go there, and of those who do go, by far the greatest number are young men belonging to the most respectable families in Italy, having ample means of subsistence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN FREEBORN.

No. 109.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 15.)*

My Lord,

*Florence, August 7, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Garibaldi has escaped, with his wife, and has embarked at Cesenatico, near Rimini. Several boats full of his troops have been taken, the rest have been dispersed.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

P S.—An official report appears in the "Tuscan Gazette" this morning, which states that Garibaldi having been pursued by Austrian vessels, had been forced to re-land at Valano.

No. 110.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.*

Sir,

*Admiralty, August 20, 1849.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, a copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker dated the 7th instant, containing the latest intelligence from Rome.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 110.

*Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*

(Extract.)

*"Caledonia," Malta, August 7, 1849.*

I INCLOSE a letter from Lieutenant Willes, of the "Spitfire," by which it appears that tranquillity has been restored at Rome, and that the Pope has empowered a Commission of three Cardinals to reestablish his temporal authority.

Inclosure 2 in No. 110.

*Lieutenant Willes to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.*

Sir,

*"Spitfire," Civita Vecchia, August 2, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to report to you that since the 22nd ultimo the French force has been increased only by the arrival of one troop-steamer, conveying about 200 infantry, a few horses, shot, shell, guns, and other munitions of war; the former have all marched towards Rome, the latter are being stored in the fleet here. The "Cacique" steam-frigate left for Toulon yesterday, conveying a few troops, apparently invalids.

Rome remains perfectly tranquil; the Pope has appointed a Commission composed of the three Cardinals Altieri, Vannicelli, and Della Genga, who are empowered to form a Ministry and restore his temporal authority.

Their first care should be an arrangement with regard to the paper-money issued by the Republican Government, which appears the most difficult and dangerous subject to arrange; the panic about it, since the fall of Rome, has done an immense deal of harm to trade in general.

The Papal arms were to be replaced on the Capitol yesterday by General Oudinot.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) G. WILLES.

## No. 111.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 31.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, August 18, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith an order from the Pro-Minister of Finance to all persons holding property belonging to the Holy Inquisition, to restore it, and to recognize the "Commissario Generale" of that institution as its agent.

Monsignor Savelli, a priest, has been nominated Minister of the "Interno" and chief of the police; the French authorities refuse to permit his acting in the second capacity, except in cases not political, and the Monsignore insists on acting in both, the consequence of which is, that there is no authority to regulate the affairs in the provinces; but it is hoped that the police may remain in the hands of the French, who have liberated a number of persons illegally arrested by the Roman police.

*Inclosure in No. 111.*

*Notification respecting the Property of the Inquisition.*

*Ministero delle Finanze,  
Roma, li 14 Agosto, 1849.*

IN seguito della domanda avanzata per parte del Reverendissimo Padre Commissario Generale, e del Signor Avvocato Fiscale del St. Offizio in assenza di quell' Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Monsignor Assessore, si è ordinato da questo Ministero, che tutti i beni spettanti alla Pia Casa di detto St. Offizio posti nello Stato Pontificio, dei quali erasi appreso il possesso dal Ministero delle Finanze per decreto dell' abolito Governo del 2 Marzo decorso, vengano restituiti alla ripetuta Pia Casa, e tornino immediatamente sotto l'amministrazione de' suoi rappresentanti legittimi.

Con questo pubblico avviso viene revocata qualunque diffidazione emanta, e ciascuno riconoscerà in assenza del suddetto Monsignor Assessore i sunnominati Reverendissimo Padre Commissario Generale ed Avvocato Fiscale del St. Offizio per tutti gli effetti di ragione.

Il Pro-Ministro,  
(Firmato) ANGELO GALLI.

(Translation.)

*Department of Finance,  
Rome, August 14, 1849.*

IN consequence of the demand made by the Commissary-General and the Advocate-Fiscal of the Holy Inquisition in the absence of its administrator (Assessore), it is ordered by this Department, that all property belonging to the Holy Inquisition in the Pontifical States, and which the Minister of Finance of the late Government, by Decree of the 2nd March had taken possession of, is to be immediately restored, and placed under the administration of its legitimate representative.

By this public notice all citations or writs are revoked, and the authority of the above-mentioned Commissary-General and Fiscal is solely to be acknowledged as legal during the absence of the administrator (Assessore).

The Pro-Minister,  
(Signed) ANGELO GALLI.

## No. 112.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.*

Sir,

*Admiralty, September 1, 1849.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to send you herewith for the information of Viscount Palmerston, a copy of a letter addressed by Commander A. C. Key, of Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Bulldog," to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, dated the 22nd of last month, relative to the state of affairs at Rome.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 112.

*Commander Key to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.*

(Extract.)

*"Bulldog," Civita Vecchia, August 22, 1849.*

THE proceedings of the French in Rome since my arrival at Civita Vecchia offer but little of interest.

General Oudinot has been recalled from the command of the army, which on his departure will devolve on General Rostolan, the next in seniority. It is General Oudinot's intention to proceed to Naples before his return to Paris, and it is said that he leaves Rome to-day.

The Triumvirate of Cardinals who now execute the temporal functions of the Pope, have shown so decided a tendency to return even to the system of Government which existed before the present Pope's election, that the Roman people are beginning to look on the French as their only hope, and their intercourse with them is gradually becoming more cordial.

The most obnoxious acts of the Ecclesiastical Triumvirate are, the decree reducing the value of the paper money, and the re-establishment on the ancient basis of the Inquisition and Vicar's Tribunal, which though nominally only for breaches of ecclesiastical law, are used to punish political offenders; and an order lately issued, to restore all property which formerly belonged to their establishments will render them as powerful as before. In fact the little that has been done since the return of the Papal authority does not show a symptom of a return to a Constitutional form of Government, or a relaxation of the old Gregorian ecclesiastical system.

I am informed that the detestation of the Cardinals and priests and a dread of their return to power is openly expressed by the Roman people of all classes; but they do not show any dislike to the restoration of the Pope's temporal authority, if unaccompanied by them, and of this His Holiness is kept in ignorance.

## No. 113.

*The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 4.)*

(Extract.)

*Naples, August 23, 1849.*

IT is now stated as positive that the King and Queen of Naples will leave Gaeta for this capital about the 8th September, and that the Pope will also accompany them, but fix his residence at Portici for some time, after which he may visit Benevento; but all this is uncertain. No time is mentioned for the return of His Holiness to Rome.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 4.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, August 26, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith proclamation from General Oudinot, dated 23rd August, announcing his recall; Proclamation from his successor, General Rostolan.

The tribunals of the Inquisition and of the Vicar-General are restored and acting; and an extraordinary Commission, as per notification herewith transmitted, has been appointed to proceed against all offenders, even those whose prosecutions were suspended by Pius IX.

*Inclosure 1 in No. 114.*

*Proclamation of General Oudinot.*

Romani,

1. L'ORDINE e la tranquillità non sono stati turbati un solo istante dal giorno che la vostra città fu occupata dall'armata Francese.

2. Il Governo Temporale del Sommo Pontefice vi è stato ristabilito coll'applauso universale.

3. Giusti ammiratori della disciplina de' nostri soldati, voi date loro in ogni circostanza, le prove di un affezione la di cui origine è del pari onorevole per essi e per voi.

4. L'accordo il più perfetto regna fra i militari d'ogni grado e la popolazione così in Roma come negli accantonamenti.

5. I nostri voti e le nostre speranze attendevano tali risultati.

6. Col preservarvi dalle reazioni politiche noi abbiamo nel tempo stesso corrisposto al nostro dovere ed ai nostri sentimenti.

7. Le vostre simpatie sono una ricompensa di cui conosciamo tutti il valore, e ch'io stimo singolarmente.

8. Sento nel cuore il bisogno di rinnovarvene l'assicurazione nel momento che la mia missione negli Stati Pontifici sta per cessare.

9. Rientrerò in Francia, vi conserverò sempre la memoria degli evidenti attestati di fiducia e di stima che mi avete dato.

10. Nessuno può sapere quel che gli è riservato nell'avvenire: ma conosco che i miei sentimenti per voi sono inalterabili.

11. Ringrazio la Provvidenza di avermi data una momentanea influenza sopra i vostri destini.

12. Io benedirò nuovamente il Cielo se pria che finisca la mia vita mi sarà permesso ancora di contribuire alla pros-

Habitans de Rome,

L'ORDRE et la tranquillité n'ont pas, vous le savez, été troublés un instant depuis que votre ville est occupée par l'armée Française.

Le Gouvernement Temporel du Souverain Pontife y a été rétabli aux acclamations générales.

Justes appréciateurs de la discipline de nos soldats, vous leur donnez en toute occasion, des preuves d'un attachement dont la source est également honorable pour eux et pour vous.

L'accord le plus parfait règne à Rome ainsi que dans les cantonnemens, entre les militaires de divers grades et les populations.

Ces résultats sont conformes à nos vœux et à nos espérances.

En vous préservant des réactions politiques, nous avons obéi à nos devoirs aussi bien qu'à nos sentimens.

Vos sympathies sont une récompense dont nous comprenons toute la valeur et que j'apprécie particulièrement.

J'éprouve le besoin de vous en réitérer l'assurance au moment où ma mission dans les Etats Pontificaux touche à sa fin.

Je vais rentrer en France. J'y conserverai toujours le souvenir des élatans témoignages de confiance et d'estime que vous m'avez donnés.

Nul ne peut prévoir ce que l'avenir lui réserve: mais je sais que mes sentimens pour vous sont inaltérables.

Déjà j'ai remercié la Providence de m'avoir donné une influence momentanée sur vos destinées.

Je bénirai le Ciel de nouveau si avant la fin de ma vie, il me permet de contribuer encore à la prospérité et à la

perità e grandezza di un paese che ha  
titoli potentissimi alla mia divozione ed  
alla mia riconoscenza.

Roma, 23 Agosto, 1849.

Il Generale in Capo,  
(Signé).

grandeur d'un pays qui a les plus puis-  
sans droits à mon dévouement et à ma  
reconnaissance.

Rome, le 23 Août, 1849.

LOUDINOT DE REGGIO.

(Translation.)

Inhabitants of Rome,

ORDER and tranquillity have not as you know been for a moment interrupted since the occupation of your city by a French army.

The temporal Government of the Sovereign Pontiff has been reestablished amidst general acclamation.

Duly appreciating the discipline of our soldiers, you afford them on all occasions proofs of attachment, the source of which is equally honourable to them and to yourselves.

The most perfect concord prevails in Rome as well as in our cantonments, between the soldiery of different ranks and the people.

These results are in conformity with our wishes and our expectations.

In preserving you from political reactions we have complied with our duty and also with our sentiments.

Your sympathies are a recompence of which we understand the full value, and which I especially appreciate.

At the time when my employment in the Pontifical States is drawing to a close I feel it necessary to repeat to you this assurance.

I am about to return to France. There I will always retain the recollection of the striking proofs of confidence and esteem which you have bestowed upon me.

No one can foresee what the future has in store for him, but I know that my sentiments towards you are unchangeable.

I thank Providence for having granted me a momentary influence over your destinies.

I shall again bless Heaven, if, before the end of my life, it allows me still further to contribute to the prosperity and the grandeur of a country which has the strongest claims on my devotion and on my gratitude.

Rome, August 23, 1849.

The General in chief,  
(Signed) LOUDINOT DE REGGIO.

Inclosure 2 in No. 114.

*Proclamation of General Rostolan.*

Romani!

1. DUE mesi indietro la vostra città languiva sotto la duplice oppressione del terrore e dell'anarchia.

2. Le truppe Francesi sono entrate in Roma. Esse non hanno veduto in voi che amici: l'ordine e la tranquillità sono stati ristabiliti, e bentosto la bandiera del Sommo Pontifice ha sventolato sulle mura della Capitale salutata da voi con entusiasmo come pegno di migliore avvenire.

3. Da quel tempo l'armata non ha cessato di dare l'esempio della moderazione, della giustizia, della generosità.

4. Questa condotta de' nostri soldati sarà per voi l'espressione la meno dubbia dei sentimenti e della simpatia

Habitans de Rome!

IL y a deux mois votre cité languissait sous la double oppression de la terreur et de l'anarchie.

Les troupes Françaises sont entrées dans Rome. Elles n'ont vu en vous que des amis: l'ordre et la tranquillité ont été rétablis, et bientôt le drapeau du Souverain Pontife a flotté sur les murs de la Capitale, salué par vous avec enthousiasme comme gage d'un meilleur avenir.

Depuis ce temps, l'armée n'a cessé de donner l'exemple de la modération, de la justice, de la générosité.

Cette conduite de nos soldats sera pour vous l'expression la moins équivoque des sentimens et des sympathies

della Francia per il Sommo Pontefice e per la popolazione degli Stati Romani.

5. Chiamato oggi al comando in capo dell'armata, io mi faccio una gloria di continuare la nobile impresa da lei così bene cominciata.

6. Nell'esercizio delle mie funzioni di Governatore di Roma io ho potuto apprezzare l'amore che nutrite per il vostro Sovrano, ed il rispetto che avete per le sue virtù. Io ho potuto conoscere le vostre speranze. I miei sforzi saranno incessantemente diretti a realizzare i vostri voti. Il mio più bel titolo di gloria sarà quello di essere stato precelto a continuare l'opera benevola, che il Governo Francese ha intrapresa per la felicità e prosperità vostra.

Roma, 24 Agosto, 1849.

de la France pour le Souverain Pontife et pour le peuple des Etats Romains.

Appelé aujourd'hui au commandement en chef de l'armée, je me glorifie d'avoir à continuer la noble tâche si bien commencée par elle.

Pendant la durée de mes fonctions comme Gouverneur de Rome, j'ai pu apprécier l'amour que vous portez à votre Souverain, le respect que vous avez pour ses vertus. J'ai pu connaître vos désirs, vos espérances. Mes efforts tendront sans cesse à la réalisation de vos vœux. Mon plus beau titre de gloire sera d'avoir été choisi pour poursuivre l'œuvre de bienveillance que le Gouvernement Français a entreprise pour votre bonheur et votre prospérité.

Rome, le 24 Août, 1849.

Il Generale in Capo,

(Firmato)

ROSTOLAN.

(Translation.)

Inhabitants of Rome,

TWO months ago your city was languishing under the twofold oppression of terror and of anarchy.

The French troops entered Rome. They saw in you only friends; order and tranquillity were restored, and presently the standard of the Sovereign Pontiff waved over the walls of the capital, saluted by your enthusiastic cries as the pledge of a better futurity.

Since that time the army has not ceased to offer an example of moderation, of justice, and of generosity.

This conduct of our soldiers will manifest to you, in the least equivocal manner, the sentiments and the sympathies of France for the Sovereign Pontiff and for the people of the Roman States.

Called at the present time to the chief command of the army, I exult in having to carry on the noble work which it has so well commenced.

During the continuance of my functions as Governor of Rome I have been able to appreciate the love which you bear to your Sovereign, the respect which you entertain for his virtues. I have been able to know your hopes.

It will always be the object of my efforts to realize your wishes. My fairest claim to glory will be that I have been chosen to carry out the work of benevolence which the French Government has undertaken for your happiness and your prosperity.

Rome, August 24, 1849.

The General in chief,

(Signed)

ROSTOLAN.

Inclosure 3 in No. 114.

*Notification of the Government Commission respecting proceedings against offenders.*

LE enormità dei delitti ed attentati commessi principalmente contro la nostra santa religione ed i suoi ministri, contro la maestà del Sovrano, e contro la pubblica e privata sicurezza, in particolare durante l'epoca luttuosa della ribellione e della sovversione di ogni ordine pubblico negli Stati della Chiesa, e maggiormente in questa capitale, reclama altamente tutta l'attenzione del Governo. Continue e fondate sono le querele che da ogni parte si sollevano, perchè tuttora impuniti rimangono cotali misfatti, mentre in molti casi anche gravissimi o non si è affatto proceduto da verun tribunale, o non si è portato



mai a termine il giudizio. Infiniti sono stati i danni che ne sono derivati, e tuttavia ne derivano all'ordine pubblico, alla morale, ed agl'interessi de' privati, nè senza una manifesta violazione di giustizia si potrebbe lasciar più a lungo di ripararli. A quest'effetto la Commissione governativa di Stato ordina quanto siegue.

E instituita una Commissione per la direzione de' processi da iniziarsi o da proseguirsi a carico degli autori e de' complici de' delitti ed attentati suddetti, composta d'imparziali e sperimentati giureconsulti. Questa Commissione prevalendosi dell'opera di abili processanti farà riassumere e compire spedatamente i processi giacenti od incompleti, ed iniziare con pari sollecitudine quei che non furono ancora introdotti.

Il Ministro dell'Interno e di Polizia unitamente a quello di Grazia e Giustizia soprintenderanno per la parte che riguarda il rispettivo loro ufficio alla esata esecuzione di quanto viene superiormente prescritto.

Roma, data dalla nostra residenza del Quirinale a dl 23 Agosto, 1849.

(Firmato)

G. CARD. DELLA GENGA SERMATTEL.

L. CARD. VANNICELLI CASONI.

L. CARD. ALTIERI.

(Translation.)

THE enormous crimes and offences committed chiefly against our holy religion and its ministers, against the majesty of the Sovereign, and against private and public safety, especially during the mournful period of the rebellion and of the subversion of all public order in the States of the Church, and, above all, in this capital, loudly call for all the attention of the Government. Constant and well-founded complaints arise on all sides, because these misdeeds remain unpunished; while in many cases, and those most serious, either they have not been prosecuted before any court, or the trial has not been carried to a termination. This has given rise and still gives rise to very serious injury to public order and to morality, and to the interests of individuals, and it is not possible to delay the remedy any longer without a manifest violation of justice. With this object the Governing Commission of State orders as follows:

A Commission is instituted for the management of the trials which are to be begun or continued against persons guilty of the above crimes and offences and their accomplices, to be composed of impartial and experienced lawyers. This Commission, availing itself of the aid of skilful practitioners, shall cause pending and incomplete suits to be resumed and speedily completed, and with like diligence shall initiate such as are not yet commenced.

The Minister of the Interior and of Police, together with the Minister of Grace and Justice, shall, in the part which appertains to their office respectively, see to the exact execution of what is above directed.

Rome, given at our residence in the Quirinal, August 23, 1849.

(Signed)

G. CARD. DELLA GENGA SERMATTEL.

L. CARD. VANNICELLI CASONI.

L. CARD. ALTIERI.

No. 115.

*The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston—(Received September 12.)*

My Lord,

*Naples, September 3, 1849.*

GENERAL OUDINOT, who has been staying for a few days at Naples, embarked this morning on board the French steamer of war "Labrador," which will convey him to Marseilles on his way to Paris.

The General, on leaving Rome, had proceeded to Gaeta for the purpose of urging the Pope to return to Rome and take upon himself the Government of the Papal States, instead of entrusting it to a Commission.

The General however failed in persuading His Holiness to adopt this course. He then came on to Naples, where a steamer was waiting for him to take him back to France.

The Pope and Their Sicilian Majesties are expected to leave Gaeta tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock, and will proceed to Portici, where the Pope will take up his residence for the present in the royal palace which has been prepared for the reception of himself and suite. Their Majesties will take up their residence at Naples, and will be present to assist at the ceremony of the "Piedigrotta," which takes place annually on the 8th of September, and for which preparations are now making.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) W. TEMPLE.

#### No. 116.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.*

Sir, *Admiralty, September 13, 1849.*  
I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, a copy of a letter from Commander Key, of Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Bulldog," dated the 1st instant, relating to the state of affairs in the Roman States.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

#### Inclosure in No. 116.

*Commander Key to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker.*

(Extract.) *Rome, September 1, 1849.*  
SINCE the transfer of the command of the French troops to General Rostolan, more cordiality is visible in the intercourse between his soldiers and the Romans. This is attributed in a great measure to a letter addressed by the President of the French Republic to M. Ney, the Envoy of France at Gaeta. This letter, at the request of the Cardinals, has not been published, but its contents are generally known. It is interesting, being the first document which has emanated from the French Government in which their intentions regarding the Papal States are intelligibly expressed. The General-in-chief has likewise personally gained the confidence of the Roman people, by assuming a higher tone in his communications with the Papal Government, and by having when inspecting the prisons, insisted on the release of several persons who were in confinement for slight political offences. He has stated in a late proclamation, that he is making arrangements for a "more complete occupation" of Rome than was first contemplated, and it does not appear that the withdrawal of any part of the army will take place.

The Spaniards are retiring towards the Neapolitan frontier. A detachment of 4000 men have been until lately quartered at and in the neighbourhood of Rieti, and others at the principal towns between that place and Velletri. It is said that they now intend to establish their head-quarters at Frosinone.

#### No. 117.

*The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 20.)*

My Lord, *Naples, September 8, 1849.*  
HIS Holiness the Pope left Gaeta on the morning of the 4th instant, accompanied by His Majesty the King of Naples, on board the steamer "Tancredi," and arrived at Portici at about 2 o'clock of the same afternoon. Her Majesty the Queen followed in another steamer with the royal children, but proceeded directly to the Royal Palace at Naples, where the King joined her after having conducted the Pope to Portici.

The sailing-vessels of the Spanish squadron had left Gaeta previously and were anchored near Portici to salute the Pope on his arrival.

The Spanish steamers, together with the French steamer "Vauban," left Gaeta at the same time with the "Tancredi," and attended on the Pope during the passage.

The Papal flag was hoisted on the steamer which carried His Holiness, and on passing the ships of war and the forts was saluted by them. Her Majesty's ship "Prince Regent" being the first that was passed, began the salute, and the Pope and the King expressed themselves gratified with the attention.

On the 6th instant the Pope came to Naples, and performed mass at the cathedral, after which he gave his benediction to the people assembled in front of the church.

On the 7th instant the Pope received at Portici the members of the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Court of Rome, and afterwards those accredited to this Court who had expressed their desire to pay their compliments to him on his arrival in the vicinity of Naples.

His Holiness appeared much pleased with the attention, and expressed his satisfaction at the beauty and comfort of the residence which had been provided for him by His Sicilian Majesty.

His Holiness, before leaving Gaeta, conferred upon Her Majesty the Queen the gift of the Golden Rose, which was presented to Her by Monsignor Stella, appointed for that purpose, in the private oratory of the Royal residence at Gaeta.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) W. TEMPLE.

#### No. 118.

*The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received September 26.)*

(Extract.)

*Naples, September 17, 1849.*

THE Pope came into Naples yesterday morning, and after performing mass in the Chapel Royal, appeared at 12 o'clock on the balcony of the Palace, attended by some of the Cardinals and other ecclesiastics, when he gave his benediction to the people assembled in the large area in front of the Palace. After the ceremony was over, Their Sicilian Majesties appeared also, and as well as His Holiness were cheered by a number of persons in front of the Palace. No soldiers were present on the occasion, and order was preserved by the police.

Previous to the ceremony a pistol went off accidentally, but without doing mischief. The person upon whom it was found was immediately conveyed to prison, as was also another individual upon whom a hand grenade was found. It is difficult to understand the object which these persons had in carrying these offensive weapons, as from the position of the parties and their distance from the balcony, no injury could have been inflicted on His Holiness or the Royal party.

No confusion occurred, and after the ceremony was over the multitude retired in the most orderly manner.

#### No. 119.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 1.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, September 20, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith translation of a proclamation issued by Pius IX, dated 12th September, 1849, in which His Holiness communicates to his subjects his intentions towards them, and the notification from the Cardinals representing His Holiness.

Inclosure I in No. 119.

*Notification of the Government Commission.*

LA Santità di nostro Signore mossa all'aspetto delle circostanze da cui rimane attenuata in parecchi de' suoi amatissimi sudditi la reità da essi contratta nel partecipare alle turbolenze politiche, le quali tanto afflissero di recente gli Stati Pontifici, e desiderosa di mostrare sempre più la benignità dell'animo suo veramente paterno, usando del suo pieno potere a beneficio di tanti travati, forse più sedotti che seduttori, ci ha ordinato di render noto nell' Augusto suo nome quanto si è degnata disporre in analogia all' Articolo 6 del sovrano suo motu-proprio dato da Napoli il 12 del corrente.

In esecuzione pertanto dei venerati comandi della Santità Sua ci rendiamo solleciti di pubblicare, a termini della espressacci mente sovrana, le seguenti disposizioni.

A coloro che presero parte alla testè cessata rivoluzione negli Stati Pontifici è concesso per degnazione sovrana, il perdono in quanto alla pena che sarebbe loro dovuta in conseguenza dei delitti politici di cui si sono resi responsabili.

Da questa grazia sono esclusi

I Membri del Governo Provvisorio:

I Membri dell' Assemblée Costituente che hanno preso parte alle deliberazioni dell' Assemblée stessa:

I Membri del Triumvirato e del Governo della Repubblica:

I Capi de' Corpi Militari:

Tutti quelli che avendo goduto del beneficio dell' amnistia altra volta accordata da Sua Santità, mancando alla data parola di onore hanno partecipato agli passati sconvolgimenti negli Stati della Santa Sede:

Coloro i quali oltre i delitti politici si resero responsabili di delitti comuni contemplati dalle vigenti leggi penali.

Col presente perdono non s'intende assicurare la permanenza negl' impieghi governativi, provinciali e municipali, a tutti quelli che per la loro condotta nelle trascorse vicende se ne fossero resi immeritevoli. Questa riserva è applicabile ai militari ed impiegati d'ogni arma.

Dalla nostra residenza al Quirinale, questo dì 18 Settembre, 1849.

(Firmato)

G. CARD. DELLA GENGA SERMATTEI.

L. CARD. VANNICELLI CASONI.

L. CARD. ALTIERI.

(Translation.)

HIS Holiness our Lord being moved by a consideration of the circumstances which in the case of many of his beloved subjects palliate the wickedness of their participation in the political disturbances which have recently so deeply afflicted the Pontifical States, and always more and more anxious to display the benignity of his truly paternal heart, employing his full-power for the good of so many erring persons, perhaps rather misled than misleading, has commanded us to make known in his august name, what he has vouchsafed to determine in reference to Article 6 of his sovereign motu proprio dated at Naples the 12th instant.

In pursuance, therefore, of the venerated commands of His Holiness, we hasten to publish, as declared to us in his sovereign resolutions, the following regulations:—

The beneficence of the Sovereign grants pardon to those who took part in the revolution of the Pontifical States, now ceased, so far as relates to the punishments which would be due to them in consequence of the political offences for which they have become responsible.

From this pardon the following persons are excluded:—

The members of the Provisional Government;

The members of the Constituent Assembly who have taken part in the deliberations of the said Assembly;

The members of the Triumvirate and of the Government of the Republic;

The heads of the military bodies;

All those who, having enjoyed the benefit of the amnesty formerly granted by His Holiness, violating their word of honour given, have shared in the late disturbances in the Holy See;

Those who, in addition to political crimes, have become responsible for ordinary offences within the jurisdiction of penal laws in force.

This pardon is not intended to assure a continuance in their administrative, provincial and municipal employments, to all those who may have, by their conduct in the passed events, rendered themselves unworthy of the same. This reservation is applicable to military and other functionaries of every kind.

From our residence in the Quirinal, this 18th day of September, 1849.

(Signed)

G. CARDINAL DELLA GENGA SERMATTEI.

L. CARDINAL VANNICELLI CASONI.

L. CARDINAL ALTIERI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 119.

*Proclamation of Pope Pius IX.*

Pius PP. IX, a' suoi amatissimi sudditi.

NON appena le valorose armi delle Potenze Cattoliche, le quali con vera filial devozione concorsero al ristabilimento della piena nostra libertà e indipendenza nel Governo dei temporali domini della Santa Sede, vi liberarono da quella tirannide che in mille modi vi opprimeva, non solo innalzammo inni di ringraziamento al Signore, ma fummo eziandio solleciti di spedire in Roma una Commissione Governativa nella persona di tre ragguardevoli porporati affinché in nostro nome riprendesse le redini del civile reggimento, e coll' ajuto di un ministero si avvisasse, per quanto le circostanze il comportassero, a prendere quelle providenze, che sul momento erano reclamate dal bisogno dell' ordine, della sicurezza e della pubblica tranquillità. E con egual sollecitudine ci occupammo a stabilire le basi di quelle istituzioni, che, mentre assicurassero a voi, dilettissimi sudditi, le convenienti larghezze, assicurassero insieme la nostra indipendenza, che abbiamo obbligo di conservare intatta in faccia all' universo. Laonde a conforto de' buoni che tanto meritano la nostra speciale benevolenza e considerazione; a disinganno de' tristi e degl' illusi, che si prevalsero delle nostre concessioni per rovesciare l'ordine sociale; a testimonianza per tutti di non aver noi altro a cuore se non la vostra vera e solida prosperità, di nostro moto proprio, certa scienza e con la pienezza della nostra autorità abbiamo risoluto di disporre quanto siegue.

Art. 1°. Viene istituito in Roma un Consiglio di Stato. Questo darà il suo parere sopra i progetti di legge prima che siano sottoposti alla sanzione sovrana; esaminerà tutte le quistioni più gravi di ogni ramo della pubblica amministrazione, sulle quali sia richiesto di parere da noi e dai nostri Ministri.

Un' apposita legge stabilirà le qualità e il numero dei Consiglieri, i loro doveri, le prerogative, le norme delle discussioni e quant' altro può concernere il retto andamento di sì distinto Consesso.

2. Viene istituita un Consulta di Stato per la Finanza. Sarà essa intesa sul preventivo dello Stato, e ne esaminerà i consuntivi, pronunciando su i medesimi le relative sentenze sindacatorie; darà il suo parere sulla imposizione dei nuovi dazi o diminuzione di quelli esistenti, sul modo migliore di eseguirne il riparto, su i mezzi più efficaci per far rifiorire il commercio, ed in genere su tutto ciò che riguarda gl' interessi del pubblico tesoro.

I Consultori saranno scelti da noi su note che ci verranno presentate dai Consigli provinciali. Il loro numero verrà fissato in proporzione delle provincie dello Stato. Questo numero potrà essere accresciuto con una determinata addizione di soggetti che ci riserbiamo di nominare.

Un' apposita legge determinerà le forme delle proposte dei Consultori, le loro qualità, le norme della trattazione degli affari e tutto ciò che può efficacemente e prontamente contribuire al riordinamento di questo importantissimo ramo di pubblica amministrazione.

3. La istituzione de' Consigli Provinciali è confermata. I Consiglieri saranno scelti da noi sopra liste di nomi proposti dai Consigli comunali.

Questi tratteranno gl' interessi locali della provincia; le spese da farsi a carico di essa e col di lei concorso: i conti preventivi e consuntivi dell' interna amministrazione: tale amministrazione poi sarà esercitata da una commissione amministrativa che verrà scelta da ciascun Consiglio Provinciale sotto la sua responsabilità.

Alcuni membri del Consiglio Provinciale saranno prescelti a far parte del Consiglio del Capo della provincia per coadiuvarlo nell' esercizio della vigilanza ebe gl' incombe su i Municipi.

Un' apposita legge determinerà il modo delle proposte, le qualità ed il numero de' Consiglieri per ogni provincia, e, prescritti i rapporti che debbono conservarsi fra le amministrazioni provinciali ed i grandi interessi dello Stato, stabilirà questi rapporti, et indicherà come fin dove si estenda su di quelle la superiore tutela.

4. Le rappresentanze e le amministrazioni municipali saranno regolate da più large franchigie che sono compatibili cogli interessi locali dei comuni.

La elezione dei consiglieri avrà per base un esteso numero di elettori, avuto principalmente riguardo alla proprietà.

Gli eligibili, oltre le qualità intrinsecamente necessarie, dovranno avere un censo da determinarsi dalla legge.

I capi delle magistrature saranno scelti da noi e gli ausiliari dai capi delle provincie sopra terne proposte dai consigli comunali.

Un' apposita legge determinerà le qualità ed il numero dei consiglieri comunali, il modo di elezione, il numero dei componenti le magistrature: regolerà l'andamento dell' amministrazione coordinandola cogli interessi delle provincie.

5. Le riforme ed i miglioramenti si estenderanno anche all' ordine giudiziario ed alla legislazione civile, criminale ed amministrativa. Una Commissione da nominarsi si occuperà del necessario lavoro.

6. Finalmente, propensi sempre per inclinazione del nostro cuore paterno alla indulgenza ed al perdono, vogliamo che si dia luogo ancor questa volta a tale atto di clemenza verso quei travisti che furono strascinati alla fellonia ed alla rivolta dalla seduzione, dalla incertezza e forse ancora dalla inerzia altrui. Avendo d'altronde presente ciò che reclamano la giustizia, fondamento dei regni, i diritti altrui manomessi o danneggiati, il dovere che e' incombe di tutelarvi dalla rinnovazione dei mali cui soggiaceste, e l'obbligo di sottrarvi dalle perniciose influenze de' corrompitori d'ogni morale e nemici della cattolica religione, che, fonte perenne d'ogni bene e prosperità sociale, formando la vostra gloria, vi distingueva per quella eletta famiglia favorita da Dio co' particolari suoi doni; abbiamo ordinato che sia a nostro nome pubblicata un' amnistia della pena incorsa da tutti coloro, i quali dalle limitazioni, che verranno espresse, non rimangano esclusi da questo beneficio.

Sono queste le disposizioni che pel vostro ben essere abbiamo creduto innanzi a Dio di dover pubblicare, e che, mentre sono compatibili con la nostra rappresentanza, appieno ci convincono poter produrre, fedelmente eseguite, quel buon risultato che forma l'onesto desiderio dei saggi. Il retto sentire di ognun di voi che anela maggiormente al bene in proporzione de' sofferti affanni ne porge a noi un' ampia guarentigia. Ma collochiamo principalmente tutta la nostra fiducia in Dio di quäle, anche in mezzo al giusto suo sdegno, non dimentica la sua misericordia.

Datum Neapoli in suburbano Portici, die 12 Septembris, 1849, Pontificatus nostri 4.

PIUS PP. IX.

(Translation.)

Pius PP. IX, to his well-beloved subjects.

THE valiant armies of the Catholic Powers, which rushed with true filial devotion to the re-establishment of our full liberty and independence in the government of the temporal dominions of the Holy See, had no sooner freed you from the tyranny which oppressed you in a thousand ways, than we raised hymns of thanksgiving to the Lord, and lost no time in sending to Rome a Government Commission, consisting of three distinguished Cardinals to resume the reins of civil rule in our name, and, with the assistance of a Ministry to take such measures as were suited to the circumstances, and were immediately required for the preservation of order, safety, and public tranquillity.

With equal haste we occupied ourselves with establishing the basis of such institutions, as, whilst they might secure proper liberty to you, our well-beloved subjects, might also insure to us that independence which it is our duty to preserve intact before the universe. Therefore, to comfort the good who have so

well deserved our special benevolence and consideration, to undeceive the wicked and the deluded who made use of our concessions to overturn social order; and as a testimony to every one that we have nothing at heart more than your true and solid prosperity, we have resolved of our own will, certain knowledge, and in the fulness of our authority, to order as follows:

Article 1. A Council of State is instituted in Rome. It will give its opinion on proposed laws before they are submitted to the sovereign sanction, it will examine all the most important questions in every branch of public administration, upon which its opinion may be requested by us and by our Ministers.

A suitable law will determine the quality and the number of councillors, their duties, their prerogatives, the form of their discussions, and whatever else may concern the right operation of so distinguished an Assembly.

2. A Council of State for the Finances is instituted. It will be consulted with respect to the State Estimates, and will examine into the disbursements, concerning which it will make suitable reports as auditors: it will give its opinion with regard to the imposition of new taxes or the diminution of existing ones, the best mode of distributing them, the most efficacious means of restoring commercial prosperity and upon everything relative to the interest of the public treasury.

The Councillors will be chosen by us from lists presented by the Provincial Councils. Their number will be fixed in proportion to the provinces of the State. This number may be increased by a limited number of individuals whose nomination will be reserved to us.

A suitable law will determine the form of the proposals of the Councillors, their qualifications, the rules for their management of business, and everything which may efficaciously and speedily contribute to the reorganization of this most important branch of public administration.

3. The institution of Provincial Councils is confirmed. The Councillors will be chosen by us from lists of names proposed by the Communal Councils (municipalities). They will consider the local interests of the province; the expenses which are wholly or in part chargeable upon it, the estimates and disbursements of the internal administration, which shall be exercised by an administrative Commission chosen by each Provincial Council under its own responsibility.

Some members of the Provincial Council will be chosen to form part of the Council of the Head of the province, in order to assist him in his duty of watching over the Municipalities.

A fitting law will determine the manner of making propositions, the qualifications and the number of the councillors for each province, and having determined on the relations to be maintained between the provincial administrations and the grand interests of the State, it will establish these relations, and will determine the nature and extent of superior authority to be exercised over them.

4. The Municipal representations and administrations will be regulated by the most extended franchise compatible with the local interests of the communes. The election of the councillors will have for basis an extensive number of electors, regard being principally paid to property. Persons to be elected (in addition to their personal qualification) must have an amount of property to be established by the law.

The heads of the magistracy will be chosen by us, and the ancients by the heads of the provinces, from lists of three names proposed by the Communal Councils.

A fitting law will determine the requisites and number of the Communal councillors, the mode of election, and the number of the magistrates, and will regulate the course of administration with respect to the interests of the province.

5. The reforms and ameliorations will extend also to judicial order, and civil, criminal, and administrative legislation. A commission will be named to undertake this necessary work.

6. Finally, inclined as we always are by the disposition of our paternal heart to indulgence and pardon, we desire that an act of clemency may once more be practised in favour of those misguided people who were led into crime and revolt by the seductions, the uncertainty, and perhaps too by the inaction of others.

Considering, on the other hand, what is required by justice, the foundation of kingdoms, remembering the rights of others assailed or injured, our duty to protect you from a renewal of the evils to which you have been subject, and to withdraw you from the pernicious influence of the corruptors of morality and the enemies of the Catholic religion, which as a lasting fount of every good and all social prosperity, formed your glory and distinguished you as the elect family favoured by God with his peculiar gifts, we have commanded that an amnesty be published in our name, remitting the punishment incurred by all those who are not excluded from such a benefit by limitations which will be made known.

Such are the dispositions which for your welfare we have thought it our duty before God to publish, and whilst they are compatible with our representation, will, we are fully convinced, if faithfully executed, produce that good result which forms the honest wish of good men. The right feeling of every one of you who desires welfare in proportion to the sufferings he has gone through, affords us ample guarantees that it will be so. But we principally place our trust in God, who, even in the midst of his just wrath, is not unkindful of his mercy.

Dated at Portici, near Naples, September 12, 1849, the 4th year of our Pontificate.

(Signed) PIUS P. IX.

No. 120.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 16.)*

(Extract.)

*Florence, October 6, 1849.*

ALTHOUGH any report that I may make to your Lordship on the state of affairs at Rome has the disadvantage of resting on hearsay intelligence, yet having seen Romans of high rank as well as travellers lately arrived from thence, and finding that their accounts agree unfortunately but too well in an unfavourable representation of the aspect of things in general in the Roman States, I do not hesitate to communicate to your Lordship these accounts.

It is universally represented to me that the greatest discontent prevails at Rome, and although the character of the Pope, so remarkable for personal piety, is respected, yet all enthusiasm and even interest in his cause has ceased to exist.

This indifference has greatly augmented since the arrival of the Cardinals who now form the governing Junta at Rome. Every act of theirs has shown the strongest tendency to retrograde principles and to the adoption of the abuses of the old priestly rule. The Inquisition has been restored for clerical offences in all its former power. Little hope is entertained of the adoption of any useful reforms in the government of the Legations.

This is a melancholy prospect of the future. No immediate remedy seems at hand. The Pope is now undoubtedly swayed by entirely opposite principles to those formerly entertained by him. From being too hasty and energetic a reformer he is supposed to have become opposed to any changes, and to countenance the ancient hierarchical absolutism.

Many of the Catholic clergy in this country look forward with apprehension to the ulterior effects of this state of things on the interests of their religion, and do not hesitate to express this opinion.

No. 121.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received November 27.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, November 17, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to report to Lordship that the Neapolitan refugees who have resided here for some months, have been sent out of the country.



## No. 122.

*Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 1.)*

(Extract.)

*Florence, November 23, 1849.*

MY news from Rome to-day is very unsatisfactory with reference to the intentions of His Holiness, who appears to have deferred for the present all idea of returning to Rome. The state of affairs in France is given as a reason for the Pope's plans.

## No. 123.

*Mr. Freeborn to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 7.)*

(Extract.)

*Rome, November 24, 1849.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a proclamation addressed to the Romans by the late French Commander-in-chief, General Rostolan.

I also transmit herewith an order of the day dated 20th instant, addressed by General Baraguey d'Hilliers to the French troops.

## Inclosure 1 in No. 123.

*Proclamation issued by General Rostolan.*

Habitans de Rome,

*Rome, le 20 Novembre, 1849.*

LE Gouvernement Français m'accorde le rappel que j'ai sollicité, et je remets aujourd'hui le commandement de l'armée à M. le Général de Division Baraguey d'Hilliers, envoyé pour me remplacer. En arrivant parmi vous comme Gouverneur de Rome, j'ai pris l'engagement de vous soustraire à la violence et à l'anarchie qui pesaient sur vous. J'ai la satisfaction, en quittant la capitale, d'y laisser l'autorité du Souverain Pontife rétablie, l'ordre raffermi, les personnes protégées, les lois respectées. Mon but a été atteint.

Votre amour pour le Souverain Pontife, votre reconnaissance envers l'armée, ont rendu ma tâche facile. Il m'est doux d'espérer que vous en serez bientôt récompensés, et que vous touchez au terme d'une pénible anxiété. Quant à moi, le temps que j'ai passé parmi vous, le bien auquel j'ai pu concourir, les témoignages d'estime que j'ai recueillis, seront les plus précieux souvenirs de ma longue carrière. Mes vœux les plus ardens accompagneront mon successeur dans l'accomplissement de la mission que lui est confiée. Je n'ai plus d'autre ambition que de les voir se réaliser.

Le Général en chef.  
(Signé) ROSTOLAN.

(Translation.)

Inhabitants of Rome,

*Rome, November 20, 1849.*

THE French Government grants me the recall which I have solicited, and I this day yield the command of the army to the General of Division, Baraguey d'Hilliers, who has been sent hither to take my place. On my arrival amongst you as Governor of Rome, I undertook to deliver you from the violence and anarchy which weighed you down. I have the satisfaction, in quitting the capital, to leave the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff re-established in it, order consolidated, persons protected, laws respected. My object has been attained.

Your love for the Sovereign Pontiff—your gratitude to the army—have rendered my task an easy one. I indulge in the sweet hope that you will soon receive your recompense, and that you approach the conclusion of your painful anxiety. As for me, the time which I have passed amongst you, the good which I have been able to aid in effecting, the testimonials of esteem which I have received, will be the most precious souvenirs in my long career. My most ardent vows will accompany my successor in the accomplishment of the mission entrusted to him, and my only ambition will be to see them realized.

(Signed) ROSTOLAN.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 123.

*Order of the Day addressed to the French Troops by General Baraguey d'Hilliers.*

Soldats,

Rome, le 20 Novembre, 1849.

VOUS êtes les dignes enfans de cette Armée d'Italie dont la gloire fut immense.

Vous avez triomphé de l'anarchie par votre courage. Vous étonnez les populations Romaines par votre discipline.

La France est fière de vous. Votre tâche n'est pas accomplie, mais la patience ne vous manquera pas plus que la valeur ne vous a fait défaut; ce sont les gages de succès.

Appelé à l'honneur de vous commander, je vous demande d'avoir confiance en moi, comme j'ai confiance en vous, et si, contre toute attente, vous aviez encore à lutter pour la gloire de votre pays, je vous retrouverais, j'en suis certain, ce que vous avez été sous les murs de Rome.

Payons un juste tribut d'éloges au brave et digne Général que vous perdez, sa brillante valeur dans les combats, son noble caractère sont appréciés du Président de la République, si jaloux de la gloire de la France et de l'honneur de ses armes.

Le Général Commandant-en-chef,  
(Signé) BARAGUEY D'HILLIERS.

(Translation.)

Soldiers,

Rome, November 20, 1849.

YOU are the worthy children of that Army of Italy whose glory was immense.

You have triumphed over anarchy by your courage. You astonish the Roman people by your discipline.

France is proud of you. Your task is not accomplished, but your patience will be equal to your courage; this is the pledge of success.

Summoned to the honour of commanding you, I demand your confidence, as I grant you mine; and if, contrary to all expectation, you should again have to contend for the glory of your country, I would again find you, I am certain, what you have been under the walls of Rome.

Let us pay a just tribute of commendation to the brave and worthy General whom you are losing; his brilliant valour in the fight, his noble character, are appreciated by the President of the Republic, who is so jealous for the glory of France and for the honour of her arms.

The General Commanding in chief,  
(Signed) BARAGUEY D'HILLIERS.

## No. 124.

*The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 20.)*

My Lord,

Naples, December 11, 1849.

THE Spanish troops have embarked at Terracina and have evacuated the Roman States in conformity with the decision of the Spanish Government.

M. de Courcelles left Naples for Rome on the 3rd instant, on his return to Paris, the state of his health not having allowed him to embark in the same steamer which conveyed General Rostolan to Toulon.

General Baraguey d'Hilliers is about to leave Naples to resume the command of the French forces in the Roman States; but it does not appear that the Pope has fixed any period for his return to his capital.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) W. TEMPLE.



